CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

PRESENT SITUATION

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

AND THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

WITH A VIEW TO THEIR FUTURE

COMMERCIAL CONNECTIONS;

PARTICULARLY DESIGNED

To expoſe the dangerous Tendency of the Arguments uſed, and of the Concluſions drawn, in a late Pamphlet publiſhed by LORD SHEFFIELD, entitled "Obſerva-"tions on the Commerce of the American States;" likewiſe ſhewing the Advantages, and urging the Neceſſity of relaxing the Act of Navigation in Favour of America, both in Great Britain and the Weſt Indies.

Interſperſed with ſome Obſervations on the State of Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Fiſheries; and with various Accounts neceſſary to ſhew the State of the Shipping and Trade of this Country and the United States; as well as of the Connection of the latter with the Weſt Indies, previous to the War.

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PREFACE.

THE materials upon which this Pamphlet is founded, were collected during the ſummer, with a view of throwing every poſſible light upon a ſubject, of ſuch importance to the Commercial Intereſts and Naval Power of this Kingdom, and which was ſo ſoon to become one of the great objects of Parliamentary Inquiry and Deliberation. It is now ſubmitted with

with the utmoſt deference to the Public, though with the fulleſt conviction on the ſide of the Writer, of the juſtneſs and truth of the ſentiments it conveys. Every precaution neceſſary to procure the beſt information on the ſubject, has been taken. Former and recent accounts have been reviſed and compared. Thoſe of the Cuſtom-houſe (which are in general imperfect) have been examined with others taken in the different ports, by perſons particularly informed in them. A difference will appear in the tonnage of the ſhips employed in our Commerce,

merce, from the former accounts which have been given to the Public. The latter have been generally taken from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, which, in many inſtances, are incorrect. The regiſters of ſhips, in almoſt all caſes whatever, are very greatly under the real burthen; and the foreign ſhips are not diſtinguiſhed with ſufficient accuracy from Britiſh built. This has occaſioned great trouble in procuring proper information. But as a great part of this information has been derived from perſonal knowledge, and where that has been in any ſhape de-

deficient, no pains have been ſpared in procuring it, the Writer can have no doubt, but that the ſeveral materials, as they are given with fidelity, will be found as correct, as the nature of the ſubject will poſſibly admit.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

WHEN a man of rank, conſideration, and of a character to which reſpect is due, gives the ſanction of his name to opinions in which matters of the greateſt national importance are involved, his ſituation in life, operating with the intereſting nature of the ſubject, can ſcarcely fail to attract the public attention. But, if theſe opinions have been adopted without a proper conſideration of the ſubject; if, embracing great objects of policy and commerce, they are founded on falſe principles; if they tend to obſtruct the happieſt movements of

Government, and to lead the Public into the adoption of ſentiments and principles highly injurious to their intereſts, the popular circumſtances under which they were uſhered into the world, ſerve, by giving authenticity to error and deluſion, to render them more pernicious and dangerous.

In ſuch circumſtances, it becomes the duty of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of knowledge and information on the ſubject, and who are aware of all the miſchief and danger which would attend the adoption of ſuch a ſyſtem, to endeavour to prevent the Public from being miſled by a fallacious repreſentation; and, by an appeal to authentic documents, to ſet them right in matters of ſuch vaſt importance to their commercial intereſts. At the ſame time that they deliver their ſentiments with the freedom which the importance of the

ſubject

ſubject requires, they ſhould likewiſe do it with the reſpect that is due to the character of the Writer, and a deference to the motives which may be ſuppoſed to have influenced him: In their origin, perhaps, theſe might be good; but, whether from a communication with deſigning or ill-informed men, or from whatever other cauſe, producing, in the event, effects miſerably bad—In the hopes of making ſuch a Writer feel a ſenſe of the danger, we may repeat to him the following advice from the Poet:

——— *incedis per ignes*
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

The noble Author of the Obſervations upon the Commerce of the American States, did not weigh with the caution a ſubject of ſuch magnitude required, the conſequences of thoſe principles which he has endeavoured ſo ſtrongly to inculcate,

He is desirous of convincing us, that this Nation, deprived of great and powerful Colonies in North America, can support itself by the means of its European Commerce, in an equally advantageous manner; that the West India Islands may have the full benefit of their antient supplies of lumber and provisions, either from this country, or our two remaining Colonies of Nova-Scotia and Canada: In short, that we may now have as full an enjoyment of Commerce, in as great an extent, and to as great advantage, as in those times when the American States formed a part of our Empire.

Such are the principles which this Writer lays down, treating as "wild fal-"lies of the imagination," every attempt to procure the restoration of our former commercial greatness, by the renewal of a close connection with America; the very

very means by which we attained it. He derives no ſmall advantage, in the ſupport of this erroneous doctrine, from the opportunity which the preſent ſtate of things affords him, of playing upon the paſſions of a people, ſore with the loſs of a great and valuable part of their empire. But, if any faith is to be placed in experience, if there is any truth in the relation of the plain and ſimple facts which will be given in the courſe of this Work, relative to the former trade between Great Britain and America, the reſtoration of that trade, in as full and ample a manner as is conſiſtent with the ſovereignty of each, is ſtill fully practicable; and we have it happily yet in our power to make that country, formerly the child of our faireſt hopes and expectations, our firmeſt and moſt uſeful friend in future. If we have but patience to ſuffer their preſent paſſions to ſubſide, paſſions which the full

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attainment of Independence muſt naturally excite in them, there is no reaſon to doubt of our obtaining every advantage which can ariſe from the ſtricteſt commercial union. However great their obligations are to France, manners, language, and antient habits, will be too powerful opponents for that nation to overcome.

The greateſt bar to the ſettlement of the American trade upon a liberal foundation, and the main ſupport of the arguments of the noble Author, is the attachment of this country to the Act of Navigation. This is a ſtrong hold, fortified with all the ſtrength that can be derived from old habits; from former experience of its advantages in our Commerce, ſanctified by the opinions of the beſt Writers upon Trade at the time of its being paſſed; and delivered down from father to ſon, as a

principle

principle not even to be queſtioned. It is given to us by its ſupporters as the *Maritima Charta*, the great Charter of our Commerce.

THERE would have been no neceſſity of bringing this Act to the queſtion, had not the late Revolution in America taken place; for we had, by the means of our Colonies, attained to ſo great a command of the carrying trade in all parts of the world, that the Navigation Act became no longer of uſe in ſupporting our Commerce. From being a ſacred palladium on which the ſafety of the Empire reſted, it was, at length, become no more than a partial ſecurity for the monopoly of our American Colonial Trade; for, in many inſtances we were obliged to ſurrender it to them. But it had the veneration of our forefathers to recommend it, and it was a part of our duty, on that account, to pay

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it the ſame reverence. In their time, the trade of the kingdom was in the hands of a few opulent men; but when our Colonies increaſed in ſtrength, and the Principles of Commerce became better known, its extenſion exceeded imagination; and even ſurpaſſed the wonderful Republic of the United Provinces, which had turned its dreary fens into warehouſes, filled with the richeſt merchandize of every quarter of the globe; and from wanting food for its own ſubſiſtence, had ſtored its granaries with food for nations. With even ſuch rivals, the goodneſs of our ſhips, the facility of working them, the ſkill and activity of our ſeamen, and the expedition with which they conveyed goods from market to market, gave them a preference in every port that they entered. The natural means then to regain this preference,

is

is to recur to the means by which it was obtained.

The preſent ſupporters of the Navigation Act proceed upon the ſame principles, with reſpect to the American States, as the framers of that Act did with reſpect to the Dutch. The quality of induſtry is, however, the only circumſtance common to thoſe nations. Every other widely differs. The Dutch had been long our enemies; were our rivals both in commerce and manufacture; they lived at our doors; and participated to ſuch a degree in every branch of our trade, that they carried away almoſt the whole profits. A vigorous meaſure was therefore neceſſary for our preſervation. The Navigation Act was paſſed, and much praiſe is due to the authors of it; ſince it fully anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectations of the Merchants, and merited

the commendations which Sir Joſiah Child, one of thoſe great traders, gives it. The Americans, on the contrary, cannot for ages be our rivals in manufacture; they live at a diſtance that will always prevent an interference contrary to our inclinations; they have been our ſubjects, and the great means of our being maſters of the carrying trade, their ſhipping forming, in the comparative view of the ſhipping of Great Britain and its dependencies, about one-half part; and of the ſhipping of Great Britain only, above one-third. If we therefore exclude them in future, we have no means left to us, with equal facility and cheapneſs, of ſupplying their places, and retaining that carrying trade to which the Author of the Publication alluded to is laudably devoted. We differ in the means of ſupporting this trade, though we agree upon the advantage of it.

To demonſtrate, therefore, our inability to preſerve it, without the aſſiſtance of America, better evidence cannot be produced than the account of the actual ſhips employed in the Commerce of this Iſland, and the places where they were built. Of theſe, the number of ſhips built in the American States formed about one-third. If the account is extended to the trade of the whole Empire, in which the Weſt Indian connection with America makes a large additional part, the number will be about one-half. The account of the ſhips employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, at the beginning of the American war, and at this time, are as follows. The number of ſhips or the tonnage, differ very little. At the former period there was about 1300,000 tons; at the latter nearly the ſame. The ſhips were built in the following countries:

	Ships.
Northern parts of Great Britain	2,419
Southern —	1,311
Ireland —	199
Britiſh Colonies ſtill remaining	163
American States —	2,342
	6,434
Foreign countries —	1,260
being	7,694

ſhips employed in the commerce of Great Britain at the commencement of the war. At this time the numbers are as follows, viz.

	Ships.
Built in the Northern parts of Great Britain —	2,226
Southern —	1,088
Carry over	3,314

	Ships.
Brought forward	3,314
Ireland —	144
Britiſh Colonies ſtill remaining	104
American —	1126
	4,688
Foreign countries —	2,892
	7,580

But as a proportion ought to be allowed of the foreign ſhips for prizes, which will replace ſuch of our veſſels as were taken by the enemy, the accounts will nearly be,

Britiſh —	5,154
Foreign —	2,426
	7,580

Or conſidering the American ſhips as foreign,

Britiſh and its preſent dependencies	4,028
Foreign —	3,552
	7,580

The foregoing account proves, in the firſt place, that at this time American built ſhips, being conſidered as foreign, ſhips of that deſcription form ſeven parts in fifteen, or nearly one half of the ſhipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, after proper allowance is made for the prizes taken by us, to ſupply the places of thoſe taken by the enemy. And next, that although for the want of ſupply, the American ſhips were reduced more than one half, yet that the deficiency was not ſupplied by Britiſh ſhips, but by veſſels foreign built, of which the Northern Nations ſupplied the far greater number; and ſo great was the conveniency of foreign bottoms, that even the Italian States ſupplied above one hundred.

This view of the ſtate of our ſhipping, points out to us the neceſſity of endeavouring to convince thoſe of their errors, who

who are for caſting away our former Colonial Commerce with a marked diſdain; leſt the eſtabliſhment of their preſumptuous opinions ſhould be the means of its being loſt to us, and with it every hope of our ever regaining the carrying trade. America was always able to ſupply us with ſhips thirty per cent. cheaper than they could be built in Great Britain, even with the diſadvantage of having the cordage, ſails, and ſtores, exported from hence.* Cargoes of goods were often ſent out in barter for ſhips; which, as well as ſhips built for ſale, making a freight home, the purchaſe could be made on ſtill cheaper terms by the Britiſh Merchant. This advantage in purchaſe, enabled our Mer-

* In New England, the ſhip-builders will now contract for building ſhips, at 3l. ſterling per ton, including the joiner's work.

chants

chants to trade upon a leſs capital, of courſe ſubject to leſs inſurance and intereſt of money. Not only all the purpoſes of our own Commerce, but thoſe of the carrying trade, were fully anſwered. They were alſo frequently purchaſed in England by foreign nations; a circumſtance which ſeems to have eſcaped the notice of the noble Author, as he dwells much upon the impoſſibility of the Americans diſpoſing of their ſhips to any other nation than Great Britain; and that even the encouragement of ſhip-building in Canada and Nova-Scotia, muſt deſtroy that buſineſs in the United States. The preſent queſtion is, how to ſupply the deficiency which the want of American ſhipping will create, without loſs? The mere deficiency may be ſupplied: We may purchaſe foreign ſhips, though on bad terms. But the dearneſs of Britiſh built ſhips (the price having increaſed from

ten

ten to fifteen per cent. within a ſhort time; and a certainty of its being ſtill higher, from an additional demand); will, if we are confined to them, effectually deprive us of the carrying trade, and greatly enhance the prices of building of our ſhips of war.

It may be objected, that although Britiſh ſhips are dearer, they are better; and will laſt much longer. Merchants of great capital and regular trade, do not regard this additional expence; for in general they contrive to hold as ſmall a ſhare as they can, dividing their property amongſt their tradeſmen, who make themſelves amends by being employed in the repairs. The inhabitants of the Northern ports of Great Britain, are the only people who make Britiſh built ſhips a profit; and this is owing to their frugality both in building and ſailing their veſſels. The

general purpoſes of Commerce are directed very differently in our times from what they were in former days, when the whole was in the hands of a few rich men, and accordingly produced immenſe profits. The capitals of our Merchants at preſent are no ways proportioned to the trade which is carried on. But credit ſupplies the place of capital, and the profit, by being more diffuſed, becoming leſs to the individual, it is neceſſary to pay the greater attention to the capital employed.— The leſs that is, the leſs will the intereſt of money and inſurance be upon it, and the gain or loſs be proportionate. The very ſaving of intereſt and inſurance, in the courſe of a few years, will much more than compenſate for the difference in goodneſs of the veſſels. The following inſtance will illuſtrate this aſſertion.

A Britiſh

			£. s. d.
A Britiſh ſhip of 100 tons, will coſt to ſea — —			1,300 0 0
Intereſt of money per annum	£.65 0 0		
Inſurance about ſix pounds per cent. per annum	78 0 0		
	£.143 0 0		
Which, together with intereſt upon it for ten years, will amount to			1,799 15 0
		£.3,099	15 0
Suppoſing the ſhip, at the end of that time, to ſell for			599 15 0
There will remain —		£.2,500	0 0
A Britiſh plantation ſhip of 100 tons, purchaſed in England, will coſt to ſea —			800 0 0
Intereſt of money per annum	£.40 0 0		
Inſurance at the ſame rate as the Britiſh ſhip —	48 0 0		
Carry over	£.88 0 0	£.800	0 0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	88	0	0	800	0	0
Which, together with intereſt upon it for ten years, will amount to				1,105	11	0
				£.1,905	11	0
Suppoſing the ſhip, at the end of that time, to ſell for only				105	11	0
There will remain				£.1,800	0	0

As the freights will be equal in both veſſels, as well as the charge of fitting out on the different voyages, the calculation is made upon the firſt coſt, the intereſt of money, the inſurance, and the addition of intereſt upon theſe charges, which is always included in mercantile tranſactions. The difference of expence between a Britiſh and an American built veſſel, will not, in the courſe of ten years, be leſs than 700l. upon ſo ſmall a capital. If there is any error in this calculation, it is

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in favour of the Britiſh ſhip; for if an account is kept of each veſſel, ſuppoſing the ſame certain freight made, and the ſame certain outſet paid by each, and intereſt of money, and inſurance is calculated, the American ſhip will clear herſelf in ſix years, whilſt the Britiſh ſhip will not accompliſh it in leſs than ten, (the value of each being conſidered at the ſeveral periods as ſtated above) which will leave a ſtill more conſiderable balance than the above 700l. in favour of the American ſhip. Every man verſed in mercantile affairs will ſee the truth of theſe obſervations.

To carry this compariſon yet farther—The American ſhipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain (excluſive of the trade between America and the Weſt Indies) at the commencement of the American

rican war, was 398,000 tons, which, at

13l. per ton, will coſt		£.5,174,000
8l. per ton	—	3,184,000
Making a difference of		£.1,990,000

Additional capital employed in our ſhipping, or above 218,000l. per annum, for intereſt of money and inſurance charged upon our trade.

The American built ſhips, which have been given in the account of the ſhipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, muſt not be confounded with thoſe ſhips which carried on the trade between this country and America. The former were incorporated in the general body of our ſhipping, of which the American trade was only a part, and which was carried on by the American

Merchants

Merchants in any ſhips, whether of the built of Great Britain, America, or any other country, indifferently, as they came into poſſeſſion of them, or chartered them for the voyage. The account, therefore, of the American built ſhips in our trade, the burthen of which was 398,000 tons, muſt be conſidered as applicable only to the purpoſe of ſhewing the ſtate of our ſhipping, from whence we drew our ſupplies, and how the deficiency is to be filled up, ſhould the American built veſſels in future be excluded.

It will be uſeful to us, to take into our conſideration the ſtate of the ſhipping employed in the Commerce of America before the war. There not being the ſame regularity in ſurveying the trading veſſels of that country, as is practiſed in Great Britain, and the Cuſtom-houſe books

books not diſtinguiſhing the voyages which each ſhip made in the year, it is not poſſible to give ſo very exact an account. But good information, collected with care, and compared with the produce of the different States, to which equal attention has been paid to procure the beſt accounts, very fully ſupply the deficiency; ſufficiently, at leaſt, to give us a very juſt idea of the ſtate of their ſhipping. Before the war, the number of veſſels, of all deſcriptions, employed in tranſporting the produce of the American States to Europe, the Weſt Indies, and other parts of America (excluſive of thoſe employed in coaſting in the Creeks and Rivers in each State, of which no account is neceſſary to be given, as they had no connection with any foreign trade) amounted to above 4,400, and were of the burthen of upwards of 400,000 tons. They were thus divided:

In

	Ships.	Tons.
In the European trade were employed about	1,220	195,000
In the Weſt India and Coaſting Trade	2,150	146,000
In the New England fiſhery, beſides thoſe employed in carrying the produce to market, which are included in the above	1,099	59,775
	4,469	400,775

Of theſe, the ſhipping employed in the Weſt India and Coaſting Trade, and in the Fiſheries, were almoſt wholly American property, and manned by American ſeamen; as on the contrary, thoſe in the European trade (which were about one half of the ſhipping employed in the Commerce of the American States) were gene-

rally the property of Britiſh Merchants, navigated by Britiſh ſeamen, and carrying to the markets of Great Britain, directly or circuitouſly (the latter in a ſmall proportion only) the produce of theſe States.

We ſhould be faithleſs ſtewards, indeed, of the talents which have been intruſted to our care, ſhould we reject a Commerce, in every reſpect beneficial to this country; ſupporting our carrying trade, by employing a great number of veſſels, particularly in the tranſport of the bulky articles of the Middle and Southern States; and forming no leſs than a ſixth part of our whole ſhipping, equal, if not ſuperior to that of our Weſt India Colonies. Theſe States have neither the ability or inclination to carry it on for themſelves; nor will they ever be induced either to employ their own exertions, or make uſe of the ſhipping of our European neighbours,

bours, for the purpoſe, if we will undertake it, in a manner ſatisfactory to them. This we may do with equal ſatisfaction and advantage to ourſelves.

THERE is one, and one argument alone, which can be urged, with any appearance of reaſon, in favour of that ſyſtem which confines our ſhipping within the bounds of our own country. It is founded in deſpair; and ſuppoſes that the national debt is become ſo enormous, the taxes upon trade ſo great, and a relaxation of ſpirit ſo general, that our own ſhipping will be abundantly more than ſufficient for all the purpoſes of our Commerce. If theſe melancholy ſurmiſes prove to be facts, the game which we are playing, to preſerve the carrying trade, is at an end; and we ſhall find ſufficient difficulty to keep even the immediate navigation of Great Britain and Ireland in a tolerable condition. Whatever

opinion may be formed of the bad ſituation the country is in, the man who recommended acting upon ſuch deſperate principles, would find himſelf ſeverely condemned, even by thoſe very people who conceived that opinion. They would very properly tell him, that exertions ought at leaſt to be made, to recover, as far as we were able, the loſſes we have ſuſtained. A very conſiderable part of our dominions have been torn from us. But though its ſovereignty is gone, we ought not to ſit quietly down, under an infatuated blindneſs, and be witneſſes of its Commerce following, when it is in our own power to retain it; and by that means put ourſelves in a condition to recover our former commercial, and in conſequence, our national greatneſs. Let us not lie down, like men in deſpair; but be active, reſolute, and work out our ſalvation with ſpirit and perſeverance.

It will be proper to take a view of the former Colonial Commerce of this country, in order to form a judgment of its value. At the beginning of this century, the exports to North America and the West Indies were - £.483,265

Africa - 86,665

£.569,930

The Exports were, on a medium, from 1739 to 1756,

North America only £.1,000,000

West Indies - 700,000

Africa - 180,000

From 1756 to 1773,

North America - £.2,300,000

West Indies - 1,100,000

Africa - 470,000

On a medium of the years 1771, 1772, 1773,

North America - £.3,900,000

West

West Indies	£.1,300,000
Africa	700,000

And proportioning such a part of the African Traders as belonged to North America, the exports will be found to be, at a medium, of the three years before the war,

North America	£.3,650,000
West Indies	1,850,000
	£.5,500,000
From Scotland	400,000
	£.5,900,000

Or in proportion of two thirds to North America, and one third to the West Indies.

The proportion of British goods to foreign goods, exported from hence to North America and the West Indies, were to the former, three fourths British and one fourth foreign;

foreign; to the latter, two thirds Britiſh and one third foreign. The exports of Britiſh manufactures will then be in this proportion:

North America	-	£.2,737,000
Weſt Indies	-	1,234,000

THE accounts which were taken by authority in America, of the imports from Great Britain previous to the war, are ſomewhat, though not materially, different. They were eſtimated as follows:

To the four New England States	-	£.407,000
New York	- -	531,000
Pennſylvania	-	650,000
Virginia and Maryland		865,000
North Carolina	-	25,000
South Carolina	-	365,000
Georgia	- -	50,000
Carry over		£.2,893,000

Brought forward	£.2,893,000
Jerſey and Delaware no eſtimate, ſuppoſe -	50,000
Sterling	£.2,943,000

THE above ſtate, as well as the other calculations, are taken from actual ſurveys of the ſhipping, and from evidence and papers laid before Parliament. The increaſe of the North American export trade has been aſtoniſhing. It had its riſe almoſt in this century, and within ſo ſhort a ſpace attained to the immenſe ſum of three millions ſterling; whilſt that of our Weſt Indian Colonies has not attained to half that amount.

SUCH an increaſe of trade, of courſe demanded an increaſe of ſhipping. We found it in thoſe States which the ſupporters

porters of the contracted ſyſtem of navigation are ſtriving to tear from us, and who have the means, in time, of depriving us and every other nation of the carrying trade. They have excellent harbours, and they build ſhips cheaper than any other people. The improvements they make in that art are exceedingly rapid. If we chooſe to procure them from theſe ports, once ſo familiar to us, by a free admiſſion of them, or when they are the joint property of the inhabitants of both countries, it is in our power to do it. We ſhall then ſecure our ſupply of ſhipping, as well as the manufactures of cordage, ſail-cloth, and many other ſtores neceſſary for the fitting out ſhips, which they will otherwiſe buy of the Northern Powers, or manufacture there for themſelves. They have as good hemp as any in the world, and naval ſtores in great plenty; ſail-cloth they can import, of

equal quality, and upon cheaper terms, than from this country. Of their induſtry and perſeverance, we have had the moſt convincing proofs. We experienced the good effects of their commercial ſpirit before the war; we were witneſſes to theſe qualities in them, under all the ſeverity of that calamity. We beheld their ſhips of war, and almoſt their whole trade, nearly annihilated at various times; yet, they were continually building more, which were as ſucceſſively taken from them; and there were not wanting variety of inſtances, where veſſels being taken, were repeatedly replaced by the owners with others, to an incredible number. In one inſtance, not leſs than thirteen times. When they could not procure carpenters to build for them, they bought moulds of veſſels and built for themſelves. Examples like theſe, ought to teach us the wiſdom of ſecuring a people, who are ſo capable of being made

uſeful friends, or active enemies. It would be prudent to bid even high for ſuch induſtrious conſumers of our manufactures; much more ſo, when we ſhall not only loſe the carrying trade, without their aſſiſtance, but even find difficulty in carrying on our own—at leaſt in carrying it on to equal advantage; and with reſpect to the danger of loſing our ſeamen, the cloſer our connection with America, the more effectually we ſhall prevent it.

A GREAT ſtreſs is laid upon the neceſſity which the Americans will be under to purchaſe Engliſh goods, from their not being able to procure them in any other country upon ſuch cheap and advantageous terms. It is, however, a hazardous attempt to drive them to this neceſſity. Mankind are formed of materials which have a great aptitude to reſiſt, when force is employed. They may be led, but cannot eaſily be

driven. We certainly manufacture many ſpecies of goods, cheaper and better than any other nation. Theſe are coarſe woollens of every kind, worſted ſtuffs, iron ware, nails, cutlery, common earthen ware, glaſs, tobacco pipes, worſted and cotton ſtockings, ſhoes, buttons, hats, all kinds of Mancheſter and Norwich goods, ſilk ribbons, ſewing ſilk, tin plates, ſheet lead, and all ſorts of lead and plumbers' work; pewter, copper, and braſs ware; painters' colours, cordage, ſhip chandlery, upholſtery, and cabinet ware; ſadlery, gunpowder, books, ſtationary, beer, and porter. There may be ſome articles omitted in this enumeration. The Americans already manufacture cordage, ſail-cloth, hats, ſtockings, glaſs, and porter. But they are in a forced ſtate, and will not be brought to a perfection yielding profit, if they have a free and ſatisfactory trade with this country, as they will be able to im-

port cheaper than they can manufacture. To reaſon, as the Author of the Obſervations does, upon America's not having any coal, clay, flint, or ſimilar materials for manufacture, and to recommend "the "ſhutting up the collieries of Cape Bre-"ton, in order to encourage our own "coals, and the carrying trade," hardly merits a ſerious anſwer. It is the firſt time that coal was ſuppoſed to afford profit to ſhips carrying it ſuch a voyage. Let us not deceive ourſelves by ſuch ideas. America is 1,300 miles in extent along the coaſt, in depth immenſely great, and contains all that is to be found in Europe. She has coal in abundance, clays of the fineſt kind; and in theſe heavy, cheap articles (except caſually for ballaſt) ſhe cannot be ſupplied from diſtant countries; but when ſhe is in want of them, ſhe muſt provide herſelf at home.

Upon many of these goods we already grant considerable bounties, to encourage their exportation. These will, in course, be continued. They are,

On gunpowder 4s. 6d. per 100 pounds
On linen ½ to 1½d. per yard
On sail-cloth 2d. per ell
On silk 6d. to 4s. per pound, according to the different qualities.
On refined sugar 26s. per 112 pounds
On cordage 2s. 4¾d. per 112 pounds, if exported to Europe, and which should likewise be extended to America.

Of these manufactures, silk will be preserved partially. The lesser parts manufactured at Coventry, and the mixture of it with cotton and worsted at Manchester and Norwich, have so much greater neatness and fancy than those of other countries, that they will certainly command a preference. The other parts of the silk manu-

manufacture have too many diſadvantages to contend with, to expect any other ſale than what may ariſe from being part of aſſorted cargoes of goods. The greater expence of raw materials and wages in England, muſt ſecure, in every caſe, this trade to France.

The great bounty on refined ſugar ſeems to give it a preference at almoſt any market. The Americans, however, appear to be very jealous of its introduction, and have laid extraordinary duties upon it in ſome States. For gunpowder and cordage we may expect a demand; but the manufacture of ſail-cloth is in danger of being loſt to us, the quality of that commodity being excellent, and to be procured on cheap terms, in other countries. If we admit the American ſhipping upon terms, this manufacture, as well as thoſe of cordage,

and

and ſome other kinds of ſhip-ſtores, may be rendered ſecure.

We have one chance of preſerving the linen trade, by the ſoftneſs of texture of the Iriſh linen. The threads are more unequal, and therefore more pliable, than the German; a quality which is generally preferred in linen.

If the Americans continue to be ſupplied with goods from this country, there does not appear to be any abſolute neceſſity for taking away the remaining duties on foreign goods exported: But no more muſt be exacted than on goods exported to other foreign countries. It would without doubt be an encouragement; but the revenue is in ſuch an impaired ſtate, that if it incurs this reduction, ſome other addition muſt be made to it. The demands of the Merchants in America, will not for a conſiderable

ſiderable time be equal to the ſale of whole cargoes of any one ſpecies of goods; and the port charges attending veſſels lading in different places, will exceed the ſavings made by purchaſing the foreign goods they want in any part of Germany or the Baltic, of which they are the growth or manufacture. It will often happen, that a ſhip is ordered to return home with ſuch a quantity as may be wanted from any of the above ports to which they have brought a cargo. But this will be accidental, and is not connected with the aſſorted cargoes of goods, which the Americans will give orders for to this country. Foreign goods generally form a fourth part of an aſſorted cargo.

THERE are many articles which America will ſupply herſelf with, by the return of her veſſels from the Southern parts of Europe, without coming to England;

land; ſuch as ſilk, wine, oil, and other productions of thoſe countries. The climate of the Southern parts of the United States is ſo perfectly well adapted to the culture of theſe articles, that in time they will ſupply themſelves. They have no other difficulty to contend with, than what ariſes from the infancy of thoſe parts of the country. They want only management and ſufficient population, to furniſh themſelves with every product of the fineſt countries of Europe and the Eaſt. They will be in poſſeſſion of theſe advantages long before they turn their views to manufacture. We ſhall always find a protection to ours in the greater profit, health, and enjoyment, which attend huſbandry, eſpecially in a country where the fineſt land may be had for the culture. The inhabitants of ſuch countries will prefer purchaſing to the manufacturing of goods, for their own uſe. Neceſſity has ſometimes

times driven them to it. Cotton and flax they have; and ſo long ſince as the war of 1739, the Carolinians, on the miſcarriage of their European ſupplies, manufactured cloathing for their Negroes. In the back countries they yet manufacture for their immediate uſe: Very much in the ſame manner as was formerly practiſed in this kingdom, (probably, in the interior parts of Wales and Scotland the cuſtom may ſtill continue; if not, it is in the remembrance of many perſons of our times) where all the apparel and linen, neceſſary for the family, were made in it. They ſowed the ſeed, raiſed the flax, dreſſed it, and prepared both that and the wool for manufacture, which was performed within their own domain. Their wants were not many, and theſe were ſupplied among themſelves. But as it happened in England, it will happen in this part of America; the country will be better peopled,

the roads will be more opened, and they will find it more profitable to purchaſe goods than to manufacture them.

The exportation of goods from America comes next under conſideration, and how far it may be made uſeful to us. The United States of North America may be divided into three parts, each having a particular connection with the different States of which it is compoſed. The firſt in order is New-England, whoſe trade chiefly conſiſts in ſhips built for ſale, in exporting lumber and proviſions; but more particularly in the fiſheries, which they have purſued with great ſucceſs. The ſecond diviſion is from the River Hudſon to the Cheſapeak, including the States of New-York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, all connected together by a trade ſimilar to each other; principally in wheat, flour, tobacco,

bacco, building ſhips, lumber, and proviſions.—The laſt diviſion is North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, the former of which produces wheat, lumber, and naval-ſtores; the latter, rice, indigo, lumber, naval-ſtores, and proviſions.—This is the outline of the Commerce of America. To ſpeak more particularly, we muſt begin with New-England, whoſe great Commerce is the fiſheries of cod, whale, mackrel, &c. from which are produced ſpermaceti, whale, and cod oil, and whale-bone; together with ſhips built for ſale, pot-aſhes, ſome naval-ſtores, ſkins, furs, maſts, boards, joiſts, planks, ſtaves, cattle, horſes, hogs, poultry, beef, and pork-hams, butter, cheeſe, &c. alſo ſome manufactured iron-ware, hats, and candles. The exportation from the Hudſon-River and the Bays of Delaware and Cheſapeak, conſiſts of tobacco, wheat, flour, bread, Indian-corn, beans, peaſe, rye,

beef,

beef, pork, tallow, hogs-fat, wax, flax-ſeed, ſome naval-ſtores of various ſorts, aſhes, horſes, drugs, hams, ſmoked beef, butter, cheeſe, live hogs, poultry, hemp, flax, deer-ſkins, brandy, iron, ore, bar and pig iron, copper, furs, ſhips for ſale, and lumber. From the Carolinas and Georgia, they export rice, indigo, deer and other ſkins, hemp, hides and other tanned leather, lumber, pitch, turpentine, ſome tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, horſes, and live ſtock, beef, pork, hogs-fat, wax, tallow, drugs, hams, and ſome ſhips. They have attempted ſilk and wine, with an appearance of future ſucceſs. Oranges are fine and in plenty. Theſe are the exports of the United States, and the diviſions in which they are naturally placed. The amount of the value of each, previous to the war, were nearly as follows, together with that of the tonnage employed in the exportation:

First Diviſion.

		Tons of ſhipping employed.
New-England States, (including the fiſheries)	£.770,000*	150,000

Second Diviſion.

		£.	Tons.
New-York,	£.529,000		
Philadelphia,	685,000		
Maryland,	379,000		
Virginia,	706,000	2,299,000	183,500

Third Diviſion.

North-Carolina,	£78,000		
South-Carolina and Georgia,	532,000	610,000	66,500
			250,000
Sterling,	£.3,679,000	employing	400,000

THOSE which have been part of the importations into Great Britain, ſhall firſt be mentioned,

* This exceeds moſt of the accounts generally given, but theſe did not take in the very great increaſe of the fiſhery in the few years preceding the war.

mentioned, and next thoſe ſent to the Weſt Indies.

One of the moſt material branches is ſhips built for ſale. Theſe are chiefly from New-England, which ſupplied about two fifths of the whole number of the American ſhips employed in Great Britain. The moſt beautiful are thoſe built in Philadelphia, where this art has attained to the greateſt perfection, equal, perhaps ſuperior, to any other part of the world. Capital ſhips have alſo been built at New-York, and in the Cheſapeak; and in South-Carolina, of live oak, which is of much longer duration than any other timber whatever.

The fiſhery, and carrying the fiſh to market from New-England, employed at the commencement of the war, about 1450 veſſels, 100,000 tons burthen, and

12,000

12,000 fiſhermen and ſeamen. The increaſe within a few years before the war was very great. The produce of the cod fiſhery is divided into two-fifths of ſalted cod-fiſh for the European market, remittances for which were ſent to Great Britain to pay for the goods; and three-fifths for the Weſt Indian market, to which place the mackrel and ſhad were ſent. The produce of the whale fiſhery is ſpermaceti and whale oil, and whale bone, which, as well as the greater part of the cod oil, was ſent to Great Britain, and will yet center there, as it is the beſt market they can procure for it. Our conſumption of oil is very great, and a part of it, as well as whale bone, is neceſſary to our manufactures, and therefore to be conſidered as a raw material. The permiſſion therefore to import it will be of ſervice to both countries. There has been always a difference in the duty charged upon theſe ar-

ticles, according to the quality of the veſſels in which the fiſh were caught. Oil, and whale fins, taken in ſhips belonging to Great Britain, are imported duty free. If taken in ſhips belonging to the Plantations, oil pays twelve ſhillings and ſevenpence one fifth per ton, whale fins two pounds twelve ſhillings and ſixpence per ton. If taken in foreign ſhipping, the duty amounts to a prohibition. The continuation of theſe duties, which are very moderate, will create no additional expence to our manufacturers, or to the conſumption of commodities neceſſary to us.

An idea has been ſuggeſted, of ſuffering furs to be imported duty free, provided a free paſſage was granted to our Canadian ſubjects through the American States.—This is intended to remove any diſadvantage which this country may derive from the boundary line cutting off the country

of the Illinois from Canada. At preſent, the Hudſon's Bay Company having ſo great a proportion of this trade, and the Americans, by their ſituation, poſſeſſing alſo a great part, what remains will be very inſignificant. It will be of expence to the Revenue, as furs pay a duty on importation. Beaver, on account of our manufacture of hats, pays only 1d. 1-20th each ſkin.

It is difficult to ſay what may be the effect, of taking away the bounty on naval ſtores. The quality of American tar and pitch is not equal to thoſe of the Baltic: There is a heat in the former, which does not agree with the manufacture of cordage ſo well as the Baltic tar. The latter is alſo clearer; but the American is equally good for other purpoſes. The Legiſlature, in order to give encouragement to its improvement, granted a

bounty of ten ſhillings each barrel, under the denomination of green tar, deſcribing the quality which it was neceſſary to have. Whether it was owing to want of care, or the difficulty of making it, very little was ſent from America entitled to this bounty. Common tar received a bounty, after deducting the duty which was paid on importation, of 4s. 9d. each barrel. Pitch, in the ſame manner, deducting the duty, about 9d. the hundred weight; and the duty upon turpentine exceeding the bounty, there was actually paid about 8d. the hundred weight; maſts and bowſprits were ſubject to no duty, and received a bounty of 20s. the ton. The price of tar in general was from 7s. to 9s. the barrel; ſome times it was as low as 6s. whilſt at the ſame time market, Baltic tar ſold from 11s. to 12s. Pitch commonly brought 5s. the hundred; and turpentine was very

very variable in price. The bounty generally paid the freight, which was a great encouragement; yet naval ſtores were always an unprofitable remittance. By theſe bounties ceaſing, the Revenue will be benefited, but the price paid by the conſumers muſt increaſe, and our ſhipping and cordage may alſo be affected by it. The prices of the Baltic tar and pitch will riſe in proportion; for wherever the demand is increaſed, the price increaſes with it,

If the ſame duties are charged upon American naval ſtores, as upon thoſe of the Baltic, the former muſt give up the trade, as they will never be able to enter into competition with them. Their diſtance, and the extraordinary expences they muſt be at, forbid it. The ſame reaſon may be applied to maſts, which now receive a bounty of twenty ſhillings

the

the ton; it is that bounty which can alone ſupport them againſt thoſe of the Baltic, where, by longer practice, they render them of much better quality. In time, they will be improved in America, where maſts are to be had in almoſt all parts.

The duties upon hemp, flax, pig and bar iron, and aſhes, may be placed upon the ſame ground as thoſe of the Baltic. If the charging them at leſs, creates any riſque of unpleaſant diſputes with Ruſſia, there is no advantage to be obtained in this country by it, adequate to the conſequence. The American hemp, though of an excellent ſtaple, is not well cleaned, and therefore not ſo proper for uſe as Ruſſian. One principle, indeed, pleads ſtrongly for its not paying any duty, which is, its being a raw material; but even that would not be a ſufficient reaſon for making any difference in the duty, unleſs

leſs it ſhould be hoped, that it might prove the means of preventing the Americans from manufacturing their iron.

The free importation of lumber and ſtaves have been of ſervice; for as the quality is inferior to that of the North of Europe, they are purchaſed on lower terms for cheaper purpoſes, and will not in fact bear a duty.

Deer ſkins are of great uſe to our manufactures, and do not ſuffer by the duty which they are charged with. No alteration is neceſſary in the articles of chocolate, ſpermaceti candles, or other ſimilar articles, where an interference with our own manufactures had occaſioned high duties to be impoſed.

Mahogany, walnut, lignum vitæ, or any wood uſed in the cabinet, joiners, or block-

block-makers trades, though not of the produce of the United States, yet their conveyance through that channel having hitherto proved uſeful, their importation from America ought of courſe to be ſtill continued upon the ſame terms as formerly.

To Dye woods, every attention ought to be paid for facilitating their importation, as they are of the greateſt conſequence to our manufactures. Theſe are, logwood, Fuſtick, Nicaragua wood, brazeletto, beſides other kinds of materials for the dying uſe. Indigo comes under this claſs; but in order to encourage the making this country an entrepot for American commodities, the duty on export ſhould be taken off. Logwood, is now in a more precarious ſtate of being procured than ever. And Fuſtick, by the loſs of To-

bago,

bago, where great quantities of fine wood was cut, will be more ſcarce.

WHEAT and flour, will of courſe be ſubject to our corn laws, the importation depending on the want of them.

FLAX ſeed is an article of importance to Ireland, the want of which ſubjects that country to great difficulty.

THE articles of Commerce exported from America, have been generally, and thoſe which relate to this country, particularly, mentioned, except the two great objects of tobacco and rice. Theſe, from the proportionate ſmall conſumption in this country to the growth, have the principal reference to the policy of making Great Britain an entrepot for them, as well as any other commodities, which, though of leſs conſequence, come under

Tobacco
Rice.

that deſcription. The adopting of this principle is neceſſary for the preſervation of this part of the American Trade, and it will probably do more: It will make Great Britain the center of American Commerce in Europe. France has taken the lead: She has declared five of her ports, Free ports, for the reception of American goods. If we act as wiſely, we need not deſpair of prevailing over her. But our ſyſtem is now ſo clogged, that it operates almoſt as a prohibition. The port charges upon their ſhips are very conſiderable, being charged as foreigners, and ſubject to the payment of double lights, though their caſes are in many reſpects different, even conſidering America as a foreign nation. For, the payment of double lights by foreign ſhips, was owing to the Dutch formerly doubling that charge; in which they were followed by the Powers in the Baltic; and the example

ample thus given, was copied by us as a matter in course. The Americans feel this charge the more, as they were formerly not subject to it; and as they have few charges of this kind in their own country.

Among the different American commodities for which this country may be made an entrepot, tobacco is the most capital article; and the relation of the circumstances attending it, will serve for other goods in similar cases. A Proclamation has indeed been lately issued, which gives liberty to the Merchants to land tobacco without a deposit; but as the former inconveniencies were not perhaps sufficiently known, and as even the repetition of an affair of this consequence is pardonable, if it will enforce the reasons for carrying this Proclamation into permanency, the former method may not be

improperly introduced at this time.—When tobacco was landed in England, a depoſit was required of 4l. per hogſhead, to be drawn back when it was exported. In London, the warehouſes allotted for its reception by the Cuſtom-houſe, lie at a great diſtance from the quays; and upon theſe it is not ſuffered to remain, though landed on one day and to be ſhipped the next, even with a watch upon it. The expence of landing, cranage, wharfage, porterage, cartage, warehouſe-rent, and a numerous train of Cuſtom-houſe and other charges (upon the whole of which, though the duty was to be received back, the Merchant charged his commiſſion) amounting to a large ſum, was, with the duty, generally drawn upon the foreign port to which the tobacco was to be ſent, which made a very large advance of money. In three or four months the Merchant received back the

duty

duty he depoſited, which, after deducting the charges, he remitted to the perſon abroad. Thus a medium cargo of tobacco was charged with an advance of about 2000l. almoſt its firſt coſt, for ſeveral months; a great part of which was ſunk in unneceſſary charges, commiſſion, intereſt of money, and loſs by re-exchange,

The remedy for theſe inconveniencies is found to be very eaſy. Upon the arrival of any cargoes of tobacco, rice, or any goods not uſually, or only partially, conſumed in this country, they ſhould be ſuffered to be landed, under bond, free of duty, and put into a warehouſe under the locks of the Officers of the Cuſtom-houſe, and the locks of the Merchants, generally called the King's Warehouſe, in the ſame manner as is practiſed in the importation of coffee and rums. This me-

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thod is ſafe, and without difficulty. The duty is paid when the goods are taken out for home conſumption, or the bonds diſcharged when exported. This will make our ports (ſo far as reſpects an entrepot for goods imported from America) in a manner free ports. The ſmall expence incurred upon their goods, and the expeditious diſpatch of their veſſels, advantages always to be met with in free ports, are great temptations to Merchants. Indulgencies as ſimilar as the nature of our Cuſtom-houſe will admit, ſhould be granted.

Objections may be made by the Cuſtom-houſe, to the apparent hazard of ſuffering any commodity, of conſequence to the Revenue, to be placed in any other warehouſe than thoſe allotted for the purpoſe. When ſo great an object is in queſtion, it warrants ſome riſque. But in this caſe

there

there is none. At leaſt not more than what attends the method now in uſe with reſpect to rum, coffee, and other articles. The Revenue never has been, nor ever will be, in danger from ſuch indulgencies. They have not contributed in any ſhape to the increaſe of ſmuggling; and though our Merchants have, in conſequence of this evil, been bound faſt by new ſyſtems of rules and regulations, the Revenue has not been relieved; on the contrary, it has continually diminiſhed. But this may be more properly mentioned in another place.

With ſuch, and they are very ſimple regulations, England might be made an entrepot for the American commodities. The principal articles are tobacco and rice: About one hundred thouſand hogſheads of the former have been annually imported into this kingdom, of which about

about twelve or thirteen thouſand have been left for conſumption in Great Britain, (the uſe of which has no otherwiſe declined, than from its dearneſs, during the war) the reſt was exported to different parts of Europe. About ſixty thouſand barrels of rice were formerly imported; almoſt the whole of which was afterwards ſent to Holland and Germany, the conſumption in England being very ſmall. Upwards of eighty thouſand tons of ſhipping, almoſt wholly belonging to Great Britain, were formerly employed in bringing theſe articles alone to market in this country. The ſame trade, the ſame employment for ſhipping, and owned by Britiſh Merchants, may yet be continued to us. Even the ſupply of France we have a very great chance of poſſeſſing, the Farmers General having already begun to make conſiderable purchaſes in this country.

The Portugueſe will import rice as formerly. Their attempt to introduce Brazil, inſtead of Carolina rice, will have the ſame effect as a ſimilar attempt many years ago. It was from neceſſity that they procured any other ſort. The Dutch have done the ſame; but both prefer Carolina rice. The inſtance given by the Author of the Obſervations on the American Trade, of a ſhip lately arrived at Liſbon from South Carolina, which would have come to a better market in England, proves nothing, becauſe the price both here and in Holland happened then to be enormouſly high. The returns will be chiefly in wine. But this exportation of rice directly from South Carolina, to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, was permitted by Act of Parliament, and is one of thoſe inſtances in which the Act of Navigation was obliged to be relaxed. A valuable trade muſt otherwiſe have been loſt

Rice

to this country. The Germans and Dutch will continue their purchaſes in Great Britain. For England may be conſidered as a great Inn, on the road from America to the Northern parts of Europe, where the Americans may repoſe themſelves, till they procure knowledge of the beſt market to ſend their goods. Formerly, rice was landed, ſhifted, and put in order for a market, in the Southern ports of this kingdom, chiefly at Cowes, paying a duty of 8d. the hundred weight. Tobacco was ſuffered to remain in the ſhips that brought it, which were conſidered as warehouſes, in order to avoid the payment of the duties, until the Merchant had a demand for ſale, when he landed the quantity he wanted, paying duty for one part, and giving bond for the remainder, which he took out of the ſhip; the firſt for home conſumption, the other for exportation; and when the laſt was again ſhipped, and

the debenture paſſed in the common forms, the bonds which had been given were of courſe diſcharged. As ſhips were formerly conſidered as warehouſes, the ſcene is only to be changed to warehouſes on ſhore, and the preſent method, in every other reſpect, which is a very ſimple one, continued in uſe.

It will be proper to take into conſideration, the ſtate of Canada and Nova Scotia, previous to that of the Weſt India Trade; for we have been given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, in the Obſervations to which reference has been ſo often made, of the ſufficiency of thoſe two Colonies to ſupply all the lumber, live cattle, and proviſions, which our Weſt India Iſlands formerly received from the American States. If we will truſt to Nature, ſhe has declared very ſtrongly againſt theſe aſſertions, by ſhutting up their ports ſix

months in the year; and what muſt particularly ſtrike our attention, which has been directed to the advantages that the Weſt India Iſlands are to receive from thence, is, that the hurricane months occupy the greater part of the time in which the navigation is open. Independently of this ſevere tax, it is further to be obſerved, that neither the Canadians, Nova Scotians, or any other people ſituated at 3000 miles diſtance from the ſeat of their Government, (even ours, excellent as that might be made, not excepted) have the ſame powers of applying their natural advantages, as thoſe immediately under a Government of their own. How much worſe then muſt be their ſituation (as in the preſent caſe) when an induſtrious rival neighbour, with ſo many ſuperior advantages, lives at their very doors. This ſuperiority is not to be overcome, until the country which attempts it has a

good

good Government, becomes equally well peopled, and has ſufficient capitals to carry on their trade. It is of little conſequence to ſay, there is lumber enough in Canada for all our purpoſes, and that it may be rendered of uſe; whilſt that Colony has not, what all Colonies muſt have to make them uſeful, a ſufficient number of people to cut down that lumber, and a good navigation to carry it off. We cannot doubt the Southern parts of Canada being a good country, but the advantages are all internal, and can never be made uſe of for the purpoſes of Commerce, till the country on the Ohio, and in the Illinois, is ſettled. And when that is done, who is to reap the benefit of it? Not this country, for the paſſage cannot be by the River St. Lawrence.

The length of the winter in the ſettled part of Canada, a tedious ſix months, deſtroys all

all the effects which the labour of the ſummer produces, ſo far as reſpects the carrying on any conſiderable Commerce. During the war, the quiet ſhe enjoyed threw the Indian trade into her hands, which the ſuperior advantages of the American States will now deprive her of. Canada has produced undoubtedly a great quantity of wheat. When grain was ſcarce in Europe, before the late war, an unuſual demand was made upon America, and the Merchants of Philadelphia, who were great ſpeculators in that article, ſent Agents to Canada for the purchaſe of corn, which they ſent ſhips for, and conſigned to their Correſpondents in Europe. But though the produce was conſiderable for this Colony, it bore a very ſmall proportion to that of the Middle States; Nor will the quantity ſhe is able to produce be of ſervice to the Weſt India Iſlands, as they require chiefly flour; and

there

there are not mills in the Province, that can be turned to the purpoſes of making quantities worth exportation. The Newfoundland market will take off ſome bread; but they have the diſadvantage, of contending with the inconvenience which the fiſhery ſuffers from the delay of ſending veſſels to fetch it.

But, with all the benefits to be expected from Canada, no laſting dependence can be placed upon it. The inhabitants are in a diſcontented ſtate, and not at all averſe to throw off our Government. They have been kept in order merely by the ſtrong hand of military power, which, whenever it is employed in Colonies at a diſtance, and more eſpecially if they are of a different nation, muſt have ſome powerful acceſſory helps, to make the inhabitants contented and peaceable under it. Such are thoſe which

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the French Weſt India Iſlands enjoy, where the riches they accumulate from their produce, joined to the impreſſion they have of their Government at home, keep them tolerably eaſy and quiet. We are not to infer from thence, that the French Government is improperly ſevere; but it is a military one; a conſtitution agreeing very ill with a Commercial State.

GREAT expectations are formed alſo by the noble Lord from Nova Scotia. That this province has a proſpect of being improved, is without doubt, and ſo will every country which receives an acceſſion of people, if the ſubſequent meaſures are prudently taken. The number ſettled and ſettling there, are very conſiderable, and there probably will be a tolerable lumber trade in time, if the inhabitants are frugal and induſtrious; but it muſt be a work of time. The climate is now very much

much againſt them. The evils, however, which this produces, will be leſſened as the ſettlements increaſe. Their fiſheries in particular, have been made the object of very ſanguine hopes. Nova Scotia and St. John's appear to be well ſituated for that purpoſe; but it is not ſituation alone that will command a beneficial Commerce. A ſandy rock full of people, accuſtomed to the trade they carry on, and purſuing it with activity and perſeverance, may become the ſeat of Commerce. This has been realized in our times, in the two little iſlands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. In Nantucket, which is only 12 miles long and three miles broad, were ſix thouſand inhabitants, many of them rich, having a neat town of 500 houſes, 140 ſhips, employing near two thouſand ſeamen, and poſſeſſing fifteen thouſand ſheep, beſides cattle, and horſes. In Martha's Vineyard, which is twenty miles long and ſeven miles

broad, were four thouſand inhabitants, three towns, a large ſtock of cattle, two hundred veſſels, and two thouſand ſeamen; each immenſely populous for their ſize; giving a full ſanction to the opinion of their poſſeſſing all the comforts and happineſs which honeſt induſtry can give them. Such enjoyments produce the natural conſequence, a greater increaſe of people than their trade can ſupport; and oblige them, from time to time, to ſend out little Colonies from amongſt them.— Their emigrations were chiefly to the back country of the Middle and Southern States. Great numbers of them are already ſettled there; and have changed the bold and daring ſpirit of the Sailor, (exploring even the South Seas in purſuit of Commerce, to pay for the manufactures they purchaſed of us), to that of the mild and peaceful Farmer. Conſiderable ſettlements have been made, and the country much improved by them.

them. But the noble Author has now changed, not only the deſtiny of their Colonies, but that of the Mother Country. He has aſſumed the wand of a powerful Geni, and like the inchantments which we read in the Oriental Tales, he has employed ſome infernal ſpirit to drive them from the habitations of their fathers, where they have ſo wonderfully flouriſhed and increaſed, and planted them in Nova Scotia, on bleak and inhoſpitable coaſts.

It is indeed too much preſumption to expect to make the fiſheries of Nova Scotia, upon which the labour of two hundred years have been already ſpent in vain, ſuperior to thoſe of the New-England States, whether with reſpect to this nation, or to that colony. The inhabitants of thoſe States are at home, with every advantage that induſtry and a ſufficient proximity to their fiſheries can give them. Theſe cir-

cumſtances, with the liberty which the late Treaty of Peace gives them, puts them in a far better ſituation than the European nations, who make a long voyage before they arrive at the ſeat of their Commerce, and who muſt fetch the proviſions their fiſhermen conſume, from the American States. If we could increaſe our fiſhery, ſo much as to cure a ſufficient ſtock of fiſh for the Weſt India market, there muſt be ſome other means found out to convey it, than the circuitous voyage which the Newfoundland ſhips will be obliged to make to the Weſt Indies, as they cannot procure a freight to pay their expences on their return.

THE poſſeſſion of Newfoundland, upon the terms of the Treaty of Peace 1762, with the fiſhery of Labradore, would have been worth many Canadas and Nova Scotias. The exchange would have proved of infinite

infinite ſervice to us. We ſhould have had the French alone to have contended with upon the terms of that Treaty, and though they carried on the trade in a more profitable manner than the Engliſh, yet there was little interference at market; their conſumption being chiefly confined to their own country, whilſt Great Britain almoſt wholly poſſeſſed the trade of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The French derived their ſuperior advantage from ſending out ſeveral ſhips together, the crews of which acted in concert; and as ſoon as a loading was ready, in the curing of which the whole were employed, a ſhip was immediately diſpatched with it, by which means many of their veſſels had quitted thoſe ſeas before ours were tolerably advanced in their ladings. Theſe advantages being now greatly increaſed, we have no other reſource than our natural induſtry, to preſerve our fiſh-

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eries upon that coaſt. How far that will anſwer, when oppoſed to America, time alone can make known. But if the New-England States increaſe now with the rapidity of the few years preceding the war, and the more they are confined by this country in their connection with it, the more will their induſtry be ſtimulated, all the European nations will be obliged to give place, and quit that trade.

It is time to put an end to a ſubject, of which no pleaſant picture can be drawn. Till we can force Nature to make a free and open navigation, and to ſoften the climate, we ſhall not derive any advantage from Canada or Nova Scotia, in any degree equal to the hopes that are held out to us. And yet this circumſtance is made by the noble Author, to have different effects, according to the ſubject which is treated of: When Ruſſia is to be made the ſubſtitute

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for America, in the diſpoſal of our manufactures, the ſhutting up the Baltic by ſix months ice, is repreſented as preventive of her having ſhips or ſailors of her own; but when Canada and Nova Scotia are to be made the ſubſtitutes for the States of America, the ſame interruption in their navigation, and the country ſix months covered with ſnow, does not hinder their becoming nurſeries for ſhips and ſeamen. But to return from this digreſſion. Theſe Colonies are not of ſufficient conſequence to induce us to make a beginning, if that is meant, to lay out large ſums of money in hopes of improvement, till they become ſtrong enough to govern themſelves. The Weſt Indies will be ruined, whilſt the work is about, and when it is finiſhed, the inhabitants of theſe Provinces will be no longer our ſubjects; and as the value of the country can never be an inducement to us to run into another American war,

if

If we take a civil leave of each other, it is all that we can expect.

It is ridiculous to talk of national gratitude. No country will voluntarily become ſubject to another, when they have ſtrength to become their own maſters. When they can protect themſelves, they neither want, nor will receive any foreign protection. It is our buſineſs to guard againſt what we have ſuffered on ſimilar occaſions. It has coſt us immenſe ſums of money in making Colonial eſtates. This very Colony of Nova Scotia has been already a heavy charge to the nation, and has never yet produced any thing of value, although we are now promiſed that (without help) it will become the granary of the Weſt Indies. We purchaſed the lands of the Grenades, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, at double their value; at almoſt the ruin of Scotland, and greatly to

the injury of this kingdom, in the year 1772. The recollection of theſe dear bought Colonial purchaſes, ſhould make us cautious in now laying out our money upon new adventures of the ſame kind.

These conſiderations prompt us the more to cultivate a good correſpondence with thoſe antient Colonies, now a powerful and numerous people, who have been good cuſtomers for our manufactures, and who ſtill continue to purchaſe them of us. We ſhall reap the advantages, without the charge, of ſupporting a Government over them. It is a melancholy conſideration to mention this as an advantage. But it is of little avail to recur to the paſt, or to conſider how far it is (as we have been told) holding out a premium for Rebellion. We ſhall not at all find our advantage, in aggrandizing any European power in preference to the renewing our connection

with America. Reſentment will not pay our national debt, or recover any part of our former glory and riches. As Canada and Nova Scotia appertain to us, we ought to conſider them with reſpect to the immediate advantage they can be made of to us in their preſent condition. If they cannot maintain themſelves with a little help, it would be better to give them up. When the Refugees who are ſettling there have received every neceſſary aſſiſtance, we ſhall be better able to judge of the uſe of theſe Colonies to us. But we ought to be very complete maſters of this ſubject, before we engage in expence. One expence draws on another, and whatever ſums are given, they ought to be proportionate to the certain advantage to be derived from them.

The next, and very important conſideration, is the trade between our Sugar Co-

lonies and the American States. The Committee of Weſt India Planters and Merchants, have repreſented, "That the permiſſion of American ſhips, as heretofore, freely to bring the produce of the American States to the Sugar Iſlands, and to take back the produce of our Iſlands in return, is obviouſly eſſential." It was a repreſentation founded on experience, and if not practically attended to, will be followed by very ſerious conſequences to thoſe Plantations. The noble Author of whoſe Pamphlet we have ſo often had occaſion to take notice, treats this great branch of our Trade with too much levity. We will not enter into the diſpute with him, "whether we can procure Weſt India produce cheaper from other nations:" But we will offer to his conſideration, the ample benefits which we derive from thoſe Plantations, their immenſe increaſe in the conſumption of our manu-

factures, the ſhipping which they make uſe of, the number of ſailors employed in them, and the abundant produce which is brought to Great Britain, greatly enriching the Revenue, the Merchant, and directly or indirectly, every order of the State.

THE value of the proviſions ſent from Great Britain to our Weſt India Iſlands was very trifling. By the information given in evidence before the Houſe of Commons, thirteen thouſand quarters of peaſe and beans, and nineteen thouſand quarters of oats, together with a few herrings and pilchards, were the ſupplies of proviſions exported from Great Britain to the Sugar Colonies, in three years before the war; being upon an average about ten thouſand quarters of peaſe, beans, and oats, each year. Salted proviſions were ſent from Ireland, and in great quantities. Theſe comprehended the whole importa-

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tion of the neceſſaries of life from Europe. The remainder of the conſumption was ſupplied by America.

THIS ſupply of proviſions, conſiſted chiefly of flour, rice, Indian-corn, biſcuit, ſheep, hogs, poultry, and ſome live cattle, (a great part of the laſt come from Porto Rico) hams, butter, ſalted beef, pork, and ſalted fiſh, in very great quantities, and of great value; likewiſe ſalt from ſome of the ſmaller Weſt Indian Iſlands, the Americans being the carriers. The ſupply from America, beſides proviſion, conſiſted of lumber, boards, joiſts, planks, and ſtaves; of oil, horſes, tallow, leather, tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, iron, ſloop and boat timbers, and other articles. Not leſs than one hundred thouſand caſks and puncheons were, in a year, made in Jamaica, from American ſtaves and heading. The different towns, and the buildings of moſt

moſt of the ſettlements upon the ſea coaſts of that Iſland, are built with timber imported from North America. The amount of theſe importations into Jamaica only, was, by the beſt calculations, not leſs than £.150,000 ſterling. The ſame uſe of theſe articles, and many of them in a greater proportionate value, prevailed in the other Sugar Iſlands.

In payment for theſe goods, the Americans formerly received the products of the Sugar Iſlands of every kind; of ſugars above twenty-five thouſand hogſheads; beſides fifteen thouſand made into refined ſugar, and ſent from Great Britain; of rum very large quantities, which was not ſaleable at any other market; likewiſe melaſſes, ſyrups, pannels, coffee, ginger, and piemento. The Weſt Indians place a dependence upon the ſale of theſe commodities,

modities, and will ſuffer extremely if it is loſt to them.

This will probably be the caſe with ſugar, as the Americans can ſupply themſelves much cheaper at St. Euſtatia, which is a mart common to all nations, for Dutch, French, and Daniſh ſugars; and theſe of better quality, and very conſiderably cheaper than Engliſh. But ſuppoſing, as many have done, that no European nation will ſuffer the Americans to carry off their produce, the climate of that country is ſufficiently favourable to ſupply them with a tolerable good ſugar. The maple-tree yields abundantly, an excellent ſubſtitute for it, and they have very good brandy to ſupply the place of rum. The Weſt Indians cannot ſubſiſt without their lumber and proviſions; for which, without a ſtipulation on our part, inſtead of bartering produce, they muſt pay in ſpecie. It is

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not difficult to foreſee the ſituation to which the Weſt India Iſlands would be reduced by ſuch a Commerce.

In the article of ſalt proviſions, though the principal import is from Ireland, and which in quality exceeds all other, and will, ſo long as that is the caſe, command a preference; yet it is not a ſufficient ſupply. The greater cheapneſs of the American proviſions, and the proximity of that country to the Weſt Indies, will always be the means of a conſiderable ſale. Improvements in ſalting will in all probability be made. The great fertility of the back country of the Southern States, where innumerable herds of cattle graze in the ſavannahs during their mild winters, produces in conſequence cheapneſs and plenty; and will in future times render ſalted proviſions a very great article of their Commerce. It is want of practice (the ſame

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thing happens in England) that prevents their ſalted proviſions from keeping as well as the Iriſh.

The great deficiency of timber in the American States has been held out to us; but for what purpoſe it is not eaſy to be underſtood. If it was a fact, and Canada and Nova Scotia could ſupply the Weſt Indies, the Trade would find its own courſe, and the noble Author had no occaſion for his fears of America ſupplying the Weſt India Iſlands. Happily for thoſe Iſlands, however, there is no deficiency of timber in America. Such an opinion can only ariſe from thoſe who, finding the country round the great towns cleared of wood, and the price of courſe dearer, have either too much indolence, or too little judgment, to make any farther obſervation; and therefore ſuppoſe that all the reſt of America is equally cleared. There

is ſufficient in that country, on the creeks in all the States, to laſt for ages; and may be cut down on the water ſide, and immediately laden in the ſmall veſſels which carry on that trade. Surely our former experience muſt have told us, that lumber was procured in ſufficient quantities, and at a cheap price in general, for the uſe of the Planter. If the price varied, it was accidental, according to the number of veſſels which arrived in the Weſt Indies; a circumſtance to which all Commerce is ſubject.

THE advantages in ſending ſmall veſſels to load lumber, militate ſo much againſt our ſupplying the Sugar Colonies in Britiſh veſſels, as to put it out of the power of a Merchant to purſue it, otherwiſe than to his ruin. The Americans will trade from their creeks with little expence, and without delay. Our large Weſt India ſhips muſt

muſt proceed directly to the great ports, and purchaſe lumber under the accumulated weight of tranſportation and ſtoreing; they muſt lie a conſiderable time loading, under great charges of wages and proviſions, and of courſe enhancing the price of freight; the whole of which muſt ultimately fall upon the Planter, who is the purchaſer.

THIS mode of carrying on the Lumber Trade to the Weſt Indies, has never been practiſed but by a few opulent Merchants, poſſeſſors of great eſtates in the Weſt Indies; who, preferring the regularity of ſupply, though at an increaſed expence, to the leaving to their Agents the care of furniſhing their plantations, were accuſtomed to ſend ſuch of their veſſels as arrived very early at home, for this purpoſe. But no one ever attempted it with a view to profit, or even making a freight for their veſſels,

though they go out half-loaded. The trade could not afford it. There are ſome ſeaſons in the year, the hurricane months, in which lumber is rather ſcarce and dear; yet the Planters, in general, are not provident enough to lay in ſufficient ſtock for a day of want. Even at the period from which all our knowledge is drawn, from that before the War, lumber, when well choſen, was always in ſufficient demand to procure freight for thoſe ſhips which were built in America, and ſent to the Weſt Indies for the purpoſe of procuring a loading of ſugars for Great Britain. The Maſter of the veſſel made his bargain, to ſell the Planter a certain quantity of lumber, for every hogſhead of ſugar he would put on board his ſhip. Such circumſtances happened in the time of regular ſupply; how much greater inconvenience muſt then accrue from the ſcanty ſupply of Britiſh ſhips. For either the

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Weſt Indies muſt carry on that trade with veſſels of their own, or we muſt do it with Britiſh ſhips. The poſſibility of Bermuda doing it, a circumſtanee that has been urged, will not be admitted by any perſon converſant in the trade. And if they could do it, another queſtion ariſes—Will the Americans ſuffer them?

Upon the whole, if we exclude the veſſels of the United States from our Weſt India Iſlands, we muſt undertake that trade ourſelves. There is no alternative. The conſequences reſpecting our ſhipping will be theſe that follow: There are very few veſſels in the Weſt India Trade, that can be ready to proceed to ſea before the month of October. To go to Nova Scotia or Canada, at that time, is impoſſible. To go to any American port to the Northward of Carolina, is attended with riſque. There are very ſevere gales of wind in the months

months of November and December, upon the American coaſts, expoſing every ſhip which approaches them, to certain damage; often driving them off the coaſt, and putting them under the neceſſity of going to the Weſt Indies. Of theſe accidents, the inſtances are very common, and ſuch muſt always be the caſe, while the ſhips, not being ready till late in the year, a few days detention by contrary winds in the Engliſh ports (to which they are conſtantly liable) muſt nearly ruin their voyage. The delay of loading in the great ports, and the dearneſs of purchaſe, have been mentioned. No calculation, with any degree of certainty, can be made of their arrival in the Weſt Indies, and of the maſters being ready to enter upon the buſineſs of loading their ſhips, till March or April, at the earlieſt period; a time when that buſineſs is very far advanced in the Weſt Indies, and many ſhips nearly,

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if not fully laden. The hurricane months ſoon approaching, the veſſels muſt return in that ſeaſon, ſubject to additional inſurance, and to an extraordinary expence in the damage received during the voyage; a misfortune which Owners of ſhips and Underwriters, from frequent loſſes, are both very well acquainted with; for the Merchants, on theſe occaſions, often meet with great difficulty in making inſurance, and very high premiums are frequently given. A veſſel arriving at home ſo late in the year, cannot be ready to proceed upon the ſame circuitous voyage of taking in a freight of lumber by the way, until the ſpring following. Thus a Weſt India ſhip, which now generally performs her voyage in twelve months, quietly and with little riſque, will be put quite out of her uſual track.

The freight made by a Weſt India ſhip to the Sugar Iſlands, is trifling. She depends for profit upon the freight home from thence. In three years ſhe now makes three of theſe freights, and the inſurance during that time, at two per cent. out, and two per cent. home, will be 12l. per cent. On the contrary, if ſhe proceeds to North America for lumber, ſhe will in all probability make no freight out to that country, as the ſhips neceſſarily upon the trade between Great Britain and America are ſufficient to carry the goods exported from hence. The cargo of lumber will make but a ſmall ſum for freight to the Weſt Indies. She will perform theſe voyages with difficulty, and with great danger and expence, and will make but two freights from the Weſt Indies home in three years; during which time the inſurance, admitting that ſhe makes one voyage in the hurricane ſeaſon,

and

and the other before it, will be 16l. 10s. per cent. at the leaſt, and ſubject to the alarms which Underwriters are liable to at that time of the year. The preſent regularity of trade, which is eſſential in the Weſt India Commerce, will be totally deſtroyed. The Planters will be at one time in abſolute want of food and neceſſaries, with their plantations ſo full of their produce, as not to have warehouſes ſufficient to place them in (the ſhips being uſually a conſiderable time loading, which affords them great convenience in that reſpect, by taking in their ſugars from time to time). At other times, all will be hurry and confuſion, and lumber either ſelling for nothing, or no places to be procured for ſtoring it. Every inconvenience ariſing from theſe circumſtances being now prevented, by the continual arrivals from North America, and the regularity of our

ſhips carrying away the produce of the Weſt Indies.

It has been aſked by the noble Lord, how did theſe Weſt India Colonies ſubſiſt during the war, *when* "*even Canada and* "*Nova Scotia*, any more than England "and Ireland, were not open to them, "without great expence and riſque?" To this queſtion it is to be anſwered, that though they were not ſupplied without great expence and riſque, yet they were not left totally deſtitute. Their chief dependance was upon England, but not wholly; preferring even the neglect of their produce to the danger of a total want of the neceſſaries of life; and accordingly raiſing a greater quantity of them than they had ever before done. When their diſtreſs preſſed very cloſely upon them, they purchaſed in the Neutral Iſlands at a high price. But all theſe

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ſupplies were procured upon ſuch expenſive terms, that had it not been for the enormous prices they procured in England for their produce, the Weſt Indies would have been ruined. This was, however, a ſevere tax upon the Mother Country, whoſe revenues were at the ſame time greatly impaired by the ſhort importations. It was an abridgment of the comforts of the people, as they were not able to ſupply themſelves as formerly; for in all caſes where the price is high, the conſumption will generally be reduced in ſome degree of adequate proportion. During the war, the neat monies received by the Planters, for the ſugars they were able to ſend to market, notwithſtanding the high price of freight and inſurance, greatly exceeded the times of peace during ſeveral years preceding the war. But we are not to infer from thence, that the profits on the whole were

equal; becauſe the quantity of the produce was greatly leſſened. It is mentioned merely to ſhew, that by the method of our ſupplying the Weſt India Iſlands with lumber (hoops, which are light, and fill up ſpaces in ſhips where nothing elſe can be put, is almoſt the only ſort ſent from hence) and proviſions, the grievance, ſo far as regard thoſe articles, will be equally great as it was during the war; for whatever expence and riſque we are at in procuring them (and if America ſhould ſhut up their ports, we muſt purchaſe in the Baltic) the burthen will fall upon the Planter, whoſe produce now ſells at one half of the groſs price it did in the war, and yet is ſubject to an additional duty of above 6s. the hundred weight.

WHATEVER may be the motive or cauſe, moſt probably through miſinformation, the

the very commodities formerly ſent from America to the Weſt Indies, are now ſet before the Public in a very falſe light, both as to quantity and value. Rice, in particular, is mentioned as a mere bagatelle, yet not leſs than twenty thouſand barrels were annually ſent from Carolina and Georgia to the Weſt Indies. Other articles are ſpoken of in the ſame manner, and proviſions and neceſſaries made to grow in thoſe Iſlands in the moſt eaſy manner, upon paper. If a Gentleman prefers employing manufacturers in his own houſe, to make the neceſſaries for his uſe, it will not be denied that they coſt more than purchaſing of the ſhop-keeper. It is exactly the ſame with the Planter, who employs his negroes in raiſing proviſions, when he can employ them much more profitably in making ſugar. It was not by ſuch means that the Weſt India Iſlands grew rich, and enriched the Mo-

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ther Country with their produce, a monopoly which the high price it ſells for in this country will (ſo long as it laſts) ſecure to us, and makes us ſmile at the fears of thoſe uninformed men, who firſt acknowledge themſelves, that the price of our Weſt India produce in the Iſlands exceeds that of any other nation, and then expreſs their fears, leſt the Americans ſhould carry off our Weſt India produce to other ports; though there is not, nor can be, by their own argument, a market in Europe where it will fetch the prime coſt. How the Planters are to uſe the indirect advantages which are given to them, from an intercourſe with the world in general, is a tale yet to be told. Much more is to be feared from the paying in bullion for the commodity imported; a trade generally allowed to be in diſfavour of the country which is obliged to ſubmit to it. It will be a ſerious matter

ter to the Planter, when he caſts an anxious eye over the rums in his ſtores, (which he cannot ſend to Great Britain, and therefore the Revenue will not be injured) to behold the continual waſte of it, whilſt he is under the neceſſity of opening his purſe, to pay in ready-money for the neceſſaries he has purchaſed.

No other concluſion can be drawn from the preceding Conſiderations, which are founded upon the evidence of the moſt ſenſible and informed men, thoroughly converſant in the Weſt India Trade, than that, if the Act of Navigation is preſerved in its preſent ſtate (America being now independent, and with reſpect to that Act a foreign nation) we muſt prepare ourſelves for the worſt conſequences that can happen to our Sugar Colonies. They will be in an infinitely worſe ſituation than they were during the war. At that time,

time, though they bought their neceſſaries dear, they ſold their produce at a very high price. They will now purchaſe thoſe neceſſaries at a high price, and ſell their produce at a low one. In the former ſituation, they were gradually declining; in this, they will fall into a rapid decay.

To guard againſt the objections which may be made by the Cuſtom-houſe, to the admiſſion of American goods, duty free, for export, (as an encouragement to them to make this country an entrepot) ſome remarks upon the preſent conſtruction of our Trade Laws are neceſſary. Formerly, the ſpirit of thoſe Laws was the governing principle of the Officers of the Cuſtoms. Lately, the cloſeſt letter of them is kept to. The Exciſe, having no other object in view than the mere collection of internal duties, has a plain, confined ſyſtem to follow, from which there can be little or no deviation.

ation. The Cuſtom-houſe, on the contrary, having the whole Commerce of the Empire under its management, and the Trade Laws not being ſufficiently exact, from the impoſſibility of conforming them to the variety of circumſtances which attend our foreign trade, muſt be left to the wiſdom of thoſe who preſide over it, and whoſe conſtruction of thoſe laws ought always to be of the moſt liberal kind. For ſome years paſt this has not been ſufficiently attended to. The deſign was to prevent ſmuggling, but unfortunately it was conceived, that the more trade in general was confined, the better the object would be attained. The conſequence was, that the Merchants were loaded with new regulations, increaſing the difficulties of the honeſt trader, already ſuffering from the inroads made upon his trade by the ſmuggler: And whilſt the defrauder of the Revenue imported vaſt quantities of goods

without entries, the moſt diligent watch was kept over thoſe made at the Cuſtom-houſe in the common mode of buſineſs; and goods paying no duty, were ſo ſtrictly attended to, that even a baſket of potatoes run the riſque of confiſcation, if there was the ſmalleſt miſtake made in the entry.—The Merchant, whoſe trade was carried on in the moſt open manner, lived under a continual watch and ſuſpicion; whilſt the ſmuggler was enjoying himſelf in the full poſſeſſion of his iniquity. Men of eſtabliſhed character in trade, and there are none who bear a higher reputation for probity than the Britiſh Merchants, ought not to be thus lumped in one general maſs of ſuſpected perſons. It implies, that all traders are objects of ſuſpicion.—This is bad policy. If a man is honeſt, it will have a tendency to weaken his attempts to diſcover any practice to the injury of the Revenue; and if he is inclined

to roguery, he will turn ſmuggler himſelf.

Every facility ought to be given to the Merchants, that is not of prejudice to the Revenue. It was this principle, the continual object formerly of the Cuſtom-houſe, that is now changed. The little preſents which the Merchant received, were then allowed him. His hogſhead of ſugar was not then weighed with the ſcrupulous exactneſs of an ingot of gold. He was not made to pay the duty of the dirt which is gathered on the quays. The practice of the Cuſtom-houſe then gave ſatisfaction to the Merchant, and the ſmuggling trade was in its infancy, compared to the flouriſhing manhood it now enjoys.

The Bill brought in by Mr. William Pitt, for the Reform of the Cuſtoms, ſo far as it related to the abolition of fees,

however good in the intention, yet, being involved in the preſent practical conſtruction of the Laws of the Cuſtoms, partook of this new and ruinous ſyſtem. For, whether application was made to the Cuſtom-houſe for information of the propriety, or the principle originated from thence, the effect was the ſame. It was always a known and well underſtood indulgence to the Merchant, to have the power of facilitating the diſpatch of his veſſels, or of any goods on board them, though it was not exactly conformable to the regular hours, or the preciſe forms of Cuſtom-houſe buſineſs. Whenever any goods were landed, and in general when ſhipped, the Officer was gratified by a preſent, according to the trouble he had been at; in ſome caſes at the pleaſure of the Merchant, in others a cuſtomary fee. But this was chiefly optional, and according to the attention ſhewn, and facility

to the buſineſs. All theſe tranſactions which have been mentioned or alluded to, were of ſuch a public nature, as not to admit of any impropriety of conduct in the Officer to the prejudice of the Revenue. It was a known and eſtabliſhed cuſtom, with which the Officer was indulged for attention, civility, and diſpatch of buſineſs.

But now, the ſtrictneſs with which all the laws reſpecting the Cuſtoms are executed, and the preciſe orders iſſued in conſequence to the Officers, have cut off from the Merchant all thoſe little advantages which gave facility to his buſineſs. He pities the Officer who executes them, and unwilling to make him the ſacrifice for the fault of others, ſtill continues to give him what he has been accuſtomed to do: Having however no advantage in return, it is very much againſt the grain; and finding Mr. Pitt's Bill to anſwer the purpoſe

of taking from him the pain of the refuſal, he makes no oppoſition to it. This ſacrifice to his feelings is an impeachment of his judgment, which would be much better directed to the reſiſtance of a ſtill greater evil; bearing with patience the misfortune of the day, and looking forwards with hope, to the reſtoration of that antient ſyſtem, when the Cuſtom-houſe held the balance between the Merchant and the Revenue with an even and ſteady hand, giving the greateſt ſatisfaction to both. The Officers, ſhould the propoſed abolition of fees take place, will have no incentive to prompt their civility or attention, upon which the moſt material mercantile tranſactions often depend. The arrival of ſhips with damaged goods, the chance of markets, and many other circumſtances requiring immediate diſpatch, will be without relief. Barely to do his duty is all that the Merchant has a right

to

to expect from the Officer; and if five minutes will finiſh the diſpatch of a veſſel, upon which the chance of a market of the greateſt importance depends, and which muſt otherwiſe be many days detained, he will have no remedy but patience. All muſt ſubmit to the ſame ſtrictneſs of regulation, which makes no diſtinction, and affords no redreſs.

Instead, therefore, of the abolition of fees, which, ſo long as the Cuſtom-houſe preſerved its antient ſyſtem, were ſatisfactorily paid, if the ſevere conſtruction of the laws of the Cuſtoms was relaxed to the regular trader, and put in practice only to the ſmuggler, in which the former would give a chearful ſupport, the moſt advantageous and important conſequences would follow to the Public. The ſmugglers now act in the moſt open defiance of the laws. They carry on this trade in

veſſels

veſſels of force, capable of maintaining engagements with our ſloops of war and cutters; and there is not wanting an inſtance, probably there are more, where the confederates on ſhore fired from a battery (placed there in the war as a defence againſt privateers) upon the King's cutter then attacking the ſmuggler, who landed his cargo in its view, under cover of the guns. Such outrages are alarming, and muſt be put an end to, or the Revenue is gone.

Advice is eaſy to give. The practical execution forms the difficulty. We know there is ſmuggling; but we know not how, without very ſtrong meaſures, (which are often violently inveighed againſt) to prevent it. The following are crude thoughts, thrown out with an intention of good. If any can be gathered from them, they will anſwer the Writer's de-

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ſign and wiſh, rather than his expectation. Every ſmuggling veſſel that is taken, ſhould, if wanted, be employed in the Cuſtoms; if not, ſhould be either deſtroyed, or a ſufficient ſecurity, if ſold, given by perſons of known property, that ſhe ſhould not again be employed in ſmuggling. The ſame ſecurity ſhould be required from all builders of any kinds of veſſels, now, or uſually employed in ſmuggling, exactly deſcribing the different ſpecies. A ſtrong body of light dragoons ſhould be ſtationed on the coaſts, under the order of the Magiſtrates; and ſome clever, active men ſhould be particularly ſelected from thoſe Gentlemen, with emoluments ſuitable to their activity and attention, in carrying the Revenue Laws into execution. The Cuſtom-houſe Officers ſhould be frequently changed. No goods, ſeized at any other port than the following, ſhould be ſold there, but conveyed

to ſix of the great ports, in ſix different parts of the Iſland, viz. London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Hull, Leith, and Glaſgow; where they ſhould be expoſed to ſale at ſtated periods, chargeable with the duties, and the produce to be diſtributed amongſt the captors. The duties being very high on many kinds of goods, afford an opportunity to a ſmuggler to carry on a colluſive trade with the Officer, by agreeing to a ſeizure, when the produce of the ſale not only pays the prime coſt, but leaves a very good profit to the Officer and ſmuggler. Laſtly, every ſmuggler who is taken in that employment, ſhould be ſent on board the King's ſhips bound on long voyages, or on board Eaſt Indiamen for a certain term of years; by which means they might be made uſeful ſubjects, and be conveyed from the ſcene of their daring and iniquitous labour. One year's exertion would put ſo

many

many ſmugglers out of their old employment, that it would naturally lead them to ſeek ſome other. The chain, once broken, will not eaſily be repaired. At leaſt, ſmuggling will be carried on only in the covered way that it formerly was; which is an evil that muſt be borne by every country whoſe duties are high; for, as in other crimes, there are always ſome perſons who will riſque the puniſhment attending the committing them if they are taken.

ANOTHER remedy is wanted to be applied in the Cuſtoms, which relates more particularly to the trader, and would afford very great ſatisfaction to him; be the means of ſaving much time and trouble, and render the preſent complex and almoſt incomprehenſible practice of the Cuſtoms ſimple, and eaſy to be underſtood. If ſuch a correction was carried into exe-

cution, it is probable that the Revenue would be benefited by it. At preſent, the various branches of the Cuſtoms being obliged to be calculated, with their diſcounts, in all entries of goods, require a great deal of time, and are only known to the Clerks of the Cuſtom-houſe. The Merchant is not ſufficiently acquainted with them, and takes them very unſatisfactorily upon truſt. The firſt ſtep in ſetting about the correction of this grievance is, to direct the Cuſtom-houſe to draw out an account of all goods which pay duty, imported into, and exported from, the kingdom, for a certain term of years before the war, in order to form the average of the actual conſumption. A communication with men of buſineſs in the different trades of which each article will be a part, will ſtill be the means of further knowledge.—

When

When theſe accounts are obtained, and the actual conſumption procured, with the circumſtances attending each ſpecies of goods, they ſhould be valued according to their prices, and the duty added to, or taken from them, as the neceſſity of the caſe required. The value of goods, ſince they were firſt rated, has very conſiderably altered. Some goods are charged with too heavy a duty in proportion to their value, others do not pay enough. By this means the duties in general will be more equally proportioned to the goods upon which they are charged. The duties on goods ſhould alſo be a ſingle ſpecific charge, without fraction, and the whole of the duties be reduced to a fund conſiſting of one branch only. Some advantage to the Revenue will be made by the fractions. At the ſame time, the ſyſtem of drawbacks ſhould undergo a reviſion,

ſion, in order to afford as much encouragement as poſſible to make this country an entrepot. To carry this correction into ſtill more advantageous execution, all high duties which the Merchant is now obliged to pay before his goods are landed, and which occaſions the burthen of a heavy additional capital to the coſt, ſhould be paid to the Exciſe, and ſo far as relates to the connection with the Cuſtoms in the entry, might be tranſacted in the ſame manner as coffee, rum, and ſuch articles. The former prejudices againſt the Exciſe, muſt be removed by the ſtrict and ſevere execution of the Laws of the Cuſtoms. It gives no alarm to the honeſt trader; the roguiſh one makes the noiſe. All high duties are beſt collected by the Exciſe; becauſe they are then not paid by the Merchant till his goods are ſold to the Conſumer, and he is by that means

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eaſed of the burthen of making a large and unneceſſary advance of money. Such, or ſome other effectual means, are indiſpenſibly requiſite to be put in practice, or the Revenue will ſtill ſuffer further decreaſe, and our Commerce be more and more impaired.

A VERY full ſtate of the trade between Great Britain and America has been already given. It is taken from the beſt authorities in this country, and confirmed by the teſtimonies of others, well acquainted with the Commerce of America. It ſhews the importance of that country to Great Britain; the dependence which our Weſt India Iſlands have upon it; the incapacity of the Colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia to ſupply its place; and that nothing elſe than a renewal of the former Commercial Syſtem will raiſe this nation

to the power and riches it poſſeſſed before the war.

An opinion has been very raſhly inculcated amongſt us, not only by the noble Author in the Publication which has been mentioned, but by many others, that America, by becoming an Independent Sovereignty, partakes ſo fully of the nature of a foreign State, that we cannot conſider her in any other view. The arguments they chiefly make uſe of, are of the ſame nature with thoſe of the ſupporters of the Navigation Act, when firſt made, and which have been already adverted to in the former part of this Work. To theſe they join the dread of Ruſſia, which they hold out as a bugbear to us; and conclude by threatening us with the reſentment of Ireland. In the firſt place, it is to be obſerved, that our circumſtances

at

at this time, and at the paſſing of the Navigation Act, are ſo widely different, as not to admit any parity of reaſoning upon the ſubject. In the next, Ruſſia is actually a rival to us in many of our capital manufactures; and with reſpect to their principal raw materials, with which they ſupply us, viz. iron, hemp, and flax, the chief articles in common to that Empire and America, if we do not think the importation duty free from both nations, neceſſary for the encouragement of our own manufactures, as well as for the diſcouragement of thoſe which have grown up in the ſame country with the materials, there can be no objection to the equalizing of the duties upon them. As to Ireland, there is no ſmall probability (from the connection which that country, particularly the Northern part, has with America) of her being diſpoſed to take the lead herſelf in this buſineſs, if we do not.

There are many important points for our conſideration. The ſale of three millions of our manufactures, the probability of a very great increaſe,* and the former employment of nearly 4000 ſhips in our Commerce—This is an enormous gap to be filled up, and which the experience of a few years ſince the breaking out of the war, has ſhewn us was ſupplied, not by Britiſh but by foreign ſhips; and which encreaſed ſo much, as to form at this time ſeven parts in fifteen of the ſhipping we employ. The price we pay for foeign ſhipping is in ready money; the balance of trade with the nations from which we chiefly receive the ſupply being greatly againſt us. If we build ourſelves, it muſt be at an expenſive rate: Whilſt American ſhips are

* The writers upon American Population agree in that Country's doubling her inhabitants every twenty-five years. In fifty years, therefore, her annual purchaſes of our manufactures would amount to no leſs than twelve millions ſterling.

are purchaſed cheap, and are paid for in barter of our own manufactures. But as this general head of American ſhips may admit of ſome difference, that country being compoſed of ſuch a variety of people and ſituations, as to make it impoſſible to apply the ſame argument to all, a diviſion ſhould be made of the New England States, from thoſe to the Weſtward and Southward of them; becauſe the principal fear which we are taught to apprehend, ariſes from the former, they being repreſented as the only great builders of ſhips, and therefore ſuppoſed to be in a capacity (if admitted as formerly) to prevent the uſe of Britiſh built ſhips. This is not ſtrictly true; for of the ſhips built in America, the New England States ſupplied only about three-fifths. But to take it upon the largeſt ſcale, would it not be a profitable trade, to barter our manufactures for their ſhips, or upon the ſtipulated terms of their being the joint pro-

perty of Britiſh ſubjects, and the citizens of the United States; one half of which to be always the property of Britiſh ſubjects, and to be navigated by a proportionate number of Britiſh ſeamen. Excluſive of the political benefits to be derived from ſo cloſe a connection with a people of the ſame manners and language, it would inſure to us the manufactures of cordage, ſails, and ſtores. Such a trade has been always conſidered to be advantageous to a nation; and as the New-England States are rivals in our fiſheries, and the only part of America that may be made capable, in time, of injuring us in the carrying trade, would it not be more prudent in us, if we could procure a ſufficient ſupply of ſhips upon good terms from them, to get into poſſeſſion of ſome of theſe dangerous weapons of offence; and to participate (at leaſt as much as we can) in the trade which theſe States carry on, by the ſupply of our manufactures for

their ſhips and produce? In ſhort, having a full experience of the paſt, and admitting this fear of the New-England States to have ſome foundation, whether it is not better

To bear thoſe ills we have,
Than fly to others which we know not of?

But ſhould even the trade of the New-England States, with reſpect to the advantage it is of to this country, be ſuſpended in a doubtful balance, that of the Middle and Southern States would, however, preponderate greatly in our favour. They build many ſhips; but they were always, and will again be, by order, and for the account of Britiſh Merchants, manned by Britiſh ſailors, the ſtores of Britiſh manufacture; and they will bring from theſe States their produce to Great Britain; the payment for which will be made in manufactures directly to them. Such deciſive advantages, particularly with reſpect to the carrying trade, at the

the time that they ſhew the propriety of our cultivating the ſtricteſt union with theſe States, point out the neceſſity of taking into our conſideration, how far, leſs advantages, or even a trade carried on without loſs, with the New-England States, ought to have weight with us, if ſuch an advantageous connection with the other States is to be procured on no other terms,

THE advantages which will ariſe to this country, by making it an entrepot for American commodities, have been already ſtated. But if the Americans are conſidered in the ſame view as foreigners, the additional charges to which their ſhipping will be liable, and of which they now bitterly complain, will render this plan abortive. The very ſmall charge in the free ports of France and Holland, will throw the ſcale greatly in their favour. If we recur to our experience, to the amazing growth

growth of our power and riches, which kept an even pace with the growth of our Colonies, it would certainly point out to us the ſuperior wiſdom of endeavouring to recover what is gone aſtray from us, rather than in a fit of puerile and fruitleſs reſentment, to turn Knights Errant in ſearch of new conſumers of our manufactures. A country, where agriculture or fiſhery is the ſtaple, and where great plenty of unoccupied and fertile lands prevent the ſettlement of manufacturies, will prove better and more certain cuſtomers, than ſettled nations, whoſe principle is to encourage manufactures of their own.

The former narrow policy of France and Spain, which is held out as an example to us, has been very much changed in both countries. They have given proofs, France very ſtrong ones, of the benefits they have received in conſequence. It was a very oppoſite conduct to the policy thus

thus recommended, that put this nation in poſſeſſion of her power and riches.——But abſolute Monarchies are not the countries to ſearch for examples of commerical regulation. It would be wiſer for us to turn our eyes to the induſtrious Dutch, whoſe immenſe riches ſhew the advantages of the eſtabliſhment of a free trade. Could this country be made one great free port, the ſame conſequences would follow. But alterations of importance are of ſerious moment in this country.

By the treaty between France and America, the former muſt have all the privileges of the moſt favoured nation. The ſubſequent treaties between America and the European powers are upon a principle of reciprocity: An argument is drawn from this, that as America can give us in return no ſuperior advantages, we are not to grant more to her than to other foreign nations.

tions. It is not ſuch treaties, it is the probable effects of trade that ought to direct our actions. It can never be a detriment to us, that France poſſeſſes the power when ſhe has not the means of carrying the privilege into execution. The advantages, which we enjoy, will render it uſeleſs to her. France has no other proſpect of material advantages by the independence of America, than what accrues to her from the diſmemberment of our empire, and the weakneſs to which we are in conſequence reduced. But this is in itſelf of the greateſt importance to her, and amply indemnifies her for the expences of the war, and whatever loſſes ſhe ſuſtained in the conteſt. It is very flattering to our pride but not to our pockets, to conſider the reſiſtance which we made to a hoſt of enemies. Our reſources went beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations. But our exertions have ad-

ded about one hundred millions to our debt, and four millions per annum to our taxes.

The mutual advantages which this country and America would receive from a cloſe connection with each other, are eaſily conceived; nor will the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a connection be a matter of ſo much difficulty, as from the preſent apparent indiſpoſition towards it on either ſide, might be imagined. There is not yet, that ſtock of good temper in either people that could be wiſhed. This is however the effect of very natural cauſes, which a little time may remove. The Engliſh are yet ſore from their diſappointment, and though they have loſt a part of their dominions, they have not loſt the recollection of having been maſters, and expect ſomething like the uſual deference, ſtill to be paid to them. The Americans, on the conrary, having by perſeverance and patient ſuffering attained to an unlooked

for

for ſovereignty, and to the eſtabliſhment of great republics, are elated with the poſſeſſion of a power, of which they had not the ſmalleſt idea at the breaking out of the war. They would be without the common paſſions of mankind, if they could meet ſuch fortune unmoved. But it has an unpleaſant tendency at preſent to make them jealous of the moſt innocent expreſſions, and to ſearch for cauſes, which never had exiſtence but in their own conception.

This was the caſe with the late proclamation forbidding American ſhips bringing their produce into our Weſt India Iſlands, a proclamation merely of an eſtabliſhed regulation, which naturally followed the granting of independence to America, whoſe trade, being then altered in its relation to us, became ſubject to the exiſting prohibitory laws. The putting them in execution was the more neceſſary, as the ports had been opened in the

the Weſt Indies without authority. The eſtabliſhment of our laws became the firſt conſideration, the next, how far an alteration could be made in them to the advantage of the country, by an examination into its commerical intereſts with reſpect to America. In ſuch an examination, this proclamation would of courſe have given place to an arrangement of trade between the two nations. Had we not put in force the laws reſpecting this material part of our trade, there could have been no diſcuſſion concerning it. We had then ſurrendered the Weſt India trade to America, without the leaſt ſtipulation. In the diſcuſſion of a commerical treaty, the terms upon which this part of it would have been formed, could not have been difficult, as the mutual intereſt of each country required, that the Weſt Indies ſhould be open to the ſupply of lumber and proviſions from the American States, and therefore, the terms upon

which

which this part of the treaty was to be founded, would have made the proclamation a mere temporary enforcing of our laws, neceſſary at the time, whilſt our commerce was in an unſettled ſtate.

But it had unfortunately happened, that ſeveral trifling and unforeſeen events, had fallen out in America, and produced a coolneſs, which intemperate men have had too much effect in increaſing. At New York, the flag of an American veſſel was forcibly hauled down by the Refugees. The Britiſh flag was treated in the ſame manner in an American port, and, as will always happen on theſe occaſions, each threw the firſt offence upon the other. Both Governments were ignorant of theſe outrages at the time they were committed, and when they came to their knowledge, they declared their diſapprobation. They were the acts of pri-

vate

vate people, done in the heigth of reſentment and retaliation, and which neither of the Governments could prevent. Another cauſe, producing a more unpleaſant effect, aroſe in South Carolina. That people ſore, with the immenſe loſſes their ſtate has ſuſtained, and irritated by the taking away of negroes by the Refugees, which they alledged were the property of perſons remaining in the ſtate, but which in the unavoidable confuſion at New York, whither they were carried, could never be aſcertained; in reſentment loaded our ſugars with a duty of twenty five per cent. more than thoſe of any other nation. Such cauſes ought to have been conſidered as proceeding from the ſudden heat of private people, and not to have produced national effects.

The diſorders in America indicate very plainly, that the Government is not in the hands

hands of the cool and temperate part of the country. The conſequence which the people of this country draw from theſe diſorders is, that the preſent Government of America cannot continue under its preſent form, but that either a monarchy, or the ſeparation of each State from the other, (forming a number of ſmall kingdoms or republicks) will take place; and that until ſome ſettlement is made, great diſorders will prevail. Theſe ſentiments are very natural to them. It would moſt probably be the caſe in Europe. It has happened in our own country, and men generally reaſon from the experience they have of their own affairs. But the Americans having no powerful neighbours to watch opportunities of increaſing their diſſentions, in order to ſeparate and weaken them, and being in general, or the greater

er part, men of ſtrong underſtandings, plain manners, and of a ſpirit very little diſpoſed to ſubmit, they will be found equal to the quieting theſe diſorders, and eſtabliſhing, if not one union, very powerful States. The greateſt difference of manners is between the New England States, and all the others to the weſtward or ſouthward of them. Frequent marks of mutual diſguſt were formerly ſhewn; unconquerable by any other means, than our placing them in one common ſituation of grievance and danger, at the commencement of the War. During that period, their mutual ſafety obliged them to keep cloſely connected together. This cauſe being now at an end, the old diſputes between the New England and the other States (there does not appear to be any diſagreement of conſequence amongſt any of the middle and ſouthern States,) might poſſibly revive. But there is a circumſtance

ſtance that will prevent them from ariſing to any dangerous heigth. This, is the ſettlement of the Refugees in ſuch great numbers in Nova Scotia, as will probably prove a conſtant check upon the New England States. The inveteracy, which they mutually poſſeſs to each other, will not ceaſe in the preſent age. If we conſider America as one union, her conduct in ſuffering ſuch a number of enemies to be collected in one body, does not appear to be very good policy. At the ſame time we cannot but admire the fortuitious event, which by bringing them ſo nearly together, has removed the greateſt danger that America had to fear from internal diſputes.

Although the reſentment of America operated very ſtrongly againſt this country, during the war, yet it ſubſided very unexpectedly at the peace. For it is owing

to very trifling ſubſequent circumſtances, that new jealouſies have ariſen. But although their reſentment ſunk towards this country, it did not towards the Refugees. It is too ſevere a taſk to walk in mournful proceſſion over the calamitous ſcenes of the late unhappy war. Every page of hiſtory that treats of civil diſſentions, records them as productive of the greateſt cruelties and diſtreſſes. Like family quarrels, they are always the moſt inveterate. We are therefore not to be ſurprized, either at the paſſions of the Americans being continually goaded by the ſevere recollection of the loſs of a huſband, a wife, a parent, or a child, ſtill freſh in their memories, nor at the violence of the Refugees, driven from their poſſeſſions, and themſelves and their families reduced to penury and want. A very few months only have paſſed ſince the peace, the ratification has not yet reached them. When the Americans are ſettled quietly

quietly and at peace, their paſſions will ſubſide, and we muſt be led to hope, that they will make a diſtinction among the Refugees, and that equitable meaſures will be taken, both with reſpect to them and the eſtates of the abſentees. Accordingly as the merits of the former appear, which may be done by claſſing them, ſome part of their property will probably be reſtored; and with reſpect to the latter, the ſame liberality of ſentiment which prevails in European wars, cannot fail to excite the attention of America.

The ſober men in America are fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of a moderate conduct, and are ſtriving to regain the power which in ſome States they have been forcibly driven from, and in others have indiſcreetly parted with. Some of them have had the wiſdom to bend to the violence of the ſtorm, and by a temporary ſubmiſſion

are now regaining poſſeſſion of Government. Others, whoſe impatience was moſt prevalent, and who retired from the adminiſtration in diſguſt, find much greater difficulties to encounter. The American affairs thus ſituated, have been the means of an opinion ſtrongly urged, that till this is effected, and the congreſs is inveſted with an authority upon which a reliance can be placed by foreign powers, no treaty of commerce ſhould be made. This evil can only be removed in this country, by the knowledge we have of our mutual intereſts, and lending our aſſiſtance to compoſe thoſe diſorders, by an acquieſcence in all that concerns our common advantages. For it is by no means a certainty that congreſs will ever recover a permanent authority over all the ſtates. The neceſſity of a ſovereign power may produce a temporary one to compoſe the preſent differences, and to ſettle their debts. But to

continue

continue the union of this extenſive country, is a matter of great doubt. It is moſt probable, that the diviſions of the States which have been mentioned in the remarks upon the trade, will take place, and that there will be three great republics, according to the ſimilitude of their manners, cuſtoms, and commerce. The New England States will make one. Nature has united them in the ſtrongeſt manner. New York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia will form another, the richeſt and moſt powerful. This country will command the great internal navigations, flowing through the Hudſon and Delaware Rivers, and the great Bay of Cheſapeak, communicating by ſeveral portages, with the waters of the Ohio, and, by that means, with the whole interior country over the mountains; the moſt fertile lands, and the beſt climate of all America; and to the inhabi-

tants

tants of which, Britiſh ſhips will be the carriers of the manufactures of Great Britain, and the exports of an abundant produce in return. The third Government in America will be the Carolinas and Georgia, nations of planters, great conſumers of manufactures, and full of luxurious products, of which we ſhall alſo be the carriers. All our conſular eſtabliſhments ought to be made upon this ſuppoſition, as the moſt natural and moſt conducive to our intereſts.

If there is any Engliſhman who does not regret the loſs of America, he does not deſerve that name ; but to ſuppoſe, as we have been ſeriouſly told, that independence muſt prove ruinous to America, requires more belief than even Engliſhmen themſelves, and they are not deficient in credulity, poſſeſs. It is too much to ſuppoſe, that the ſnows of Canada and Nova Scotia will

will be found ſo full of temptation, as to cauſe the emigration of the inhabitants of the United States; or that a ſix months winter can render thoſe fertile and beautiful countries, ſo widely extended at the back of the middle and ſouthern ſtates, and in which a perpetual ſummer reigns, deſerted and deſolate. The attainment of ſovereignty, by any people who have ſufficient internal ſtrength to ſupport it, can never be injurious to themſelves. The ſtates of the ſeven United Provinces were not ruined by throwing off the government of Spain, and yet their ſituation was as much more precarious than America, as they were in all reſpects inferior to her in power, and in future proſpect. Countries which have ſeverely felt the ſcourge of war, are recruited by a very few years of peace. Flanders, which has ſo often felt it, is one of the richeſt countries in Europe. No Engliſh trader refuſes to truſt

truſt a German, becauſe his country was laid waſte in the laſt, and almoſt in every continental war. America, though loaded with debt, has ſufficient reſources within herſelf to pay it. The Colonies of Nova Scotia and Canada, which are held out to us in ſo glorious a light, will never, notwithſtanding their freedom from taxes, increaſe like her ſtates. The ſuperior benefits to be derived from climate, from being better peopled, and from the poſſeſſion of vaſt tracts of fertile lands for new cultivation, will in a courſe of years remove every burthen ariſing from her debts. Her eſtabliſhments are eaſy to her. Every nation in Europe ſolicits to partake of her trade, and as commercial principles are now well known, ſhe will find ſufficient markets for her produce, ſhould we refuſe to receive it.

By

By ſeriouſly reflecting upon our own ſituation, and endeavouring, diſpaſſionately to repair the loſſes we have ſuſtained, we ſhall be better able to recover from them. Our ſituation is bad, but not deſperate. The reſtoration of our commerce muſt be the means, and the only means of the reſtoration of our power. It is an act of wildneſs and deſperation to ſuppoſe America loſt to us, becauſe ſhe is connected with France, and to reject her with horror, leſt ſhe ſhould become a rival to our commerce, which it is her own actual intereſt to ſupport.

We muſt be ſurprized to obſerve ſo much ill timed reſentment in our preſent ſituation. For to what other cauſe, than to prevent a future connection with America, can we attribute the pains, which the noble author of the obſervations, on the commerce of the United States, has taken

to wander through the lakes of America, to diſcover that "there is but one mile "portage between Cayahoga River, that "empties itſelf into Lake Erie, which "*finally runs into the River St, Lawrence* "and the River Muſkinghum, which runs "into the Ohio, and communicates with "the Gulph of Mexico. Notwithſtand-"ingthe navigation of the Rivers St. Law-"rence and Miſſiſipi is obſtructed in "Winter and Spring, in the firſt by "Ice, and in the laſt by the rapidity "of the waters, and notwithſtanding the "diſtance is not above ſixty miles be-"tween the navigable part of the Potow-"mack, which runs into the Cheſapeak, "and a navigable branch of the Ohio, yet "the River St. Lawrence, (the excluſive "trade of which belongs to Great Britain, "(the Lakes, the Ohio, and the Miſſiſipi, "will be the principal communications of "the vaſt country beyond the moun-"tains") The miſtakes of the portage,

and

and the badneſs of navigation in America, which are mentioned, are not neceſſary here to be adverted to.) He farther obſerves that "Our iſlands, eſpe- "cially Jamaica, might receive ſup- "plies from the Miſſiſipi, whilſt a cargo "might at the proper ſeaſon go up the "River, *if it is open to us*, and bring lum- "ber, cattle, mules, and ſupplies of every "kind, except fiſh"—A ſyſtem of trade which, it muſt be acknowledged, would be moſt perfectly adapted to the wants of our Weſt India Colonies; provided—That the Cayahoga and the Muſkinghum Rivers, belonged to us.—That the navigation to the St. Lawrence was not very expenſive and full of obſtructions—That the St. Lawrence was not ſhut up ſix months in the year, and that we had any property at all in the Miſſiſipi, or, in the mode of expreſſion uſed by our author, *if it was open to us.* That unfortunate monoſyllable *if*, could it be got the better of, would make all the

difference which he ſtates in our ſituation.

The experience of a century has made, what he calls, "the youthful ardor of "graſping at the American trade," grey in the employment, and although it might be youthful in us, it would be nevertheleſs wiſe to run a race with any foreign nation, however eager for it, ſooner than loſe any part that is in our power to retain. If the foreigner has ſuffered by his raſh and early adventures, his loſſes will be our gain. But as commerce is fluctuating, and as a firſt loſs often prompts the merchant to try to repair it,

Mox reficit rates
Quaſſas, indocilis pauperiem pati

we ſhould not reſtrain our merchants, but do our part to open the trade, and leave the reſt to their diſcretion. They are men of ability, induſtry, and experience,

perience, and if we repair the broken road, we may ſafely truſt the journey to their care. But if, perſiſting in our former haughtineſs, we rely rpon the neceſſity, which we think the Americans are under of taking our manufactures, we may draw the cord too tight, and occaſion its breaking in our hands, and plunging us into that mire into which our folly has drawn us. The Americans are relapſing into their former luxury and enjoyments. The war precluded them for a time, but a ſpirit for indulgence now breaks forth, with increaſed force, and the orders for goods which have been lately tranſmitted, are filled with as many ſuperfluities as neceſſaries. Whether this is a wiſe conduct in ſuch ſtates, muſt be the conſideration of their own Government; but it will not be a wiſe conduct in us, if we neglect the means of drawing them into that dependence which their trade will produce; at

the ſame time that it is attended with the greateſt benefit to ourſelves, by diſpoſing of our manufactures for uſeful commodities, both for our own conſumption and for export. They will come to us for ordination for their clergy, for maſters to educate their children, and for free communication in all thoſe habits, from which the cloſeſt connections are derived.

As the definitive treaty with America is now ſigned, and her commerce will become an early object of parliamentary deliberation, we ſhould be vigorous in our exertions to improve ſuch promiſing advantages. France, apprehenſive of them, is fully ſenſible of her danger, in the reſtoration of our ancient commercial connection; and no circumſtance eſcapes the vigilance of her miniſter in America, which can flatter the pride, or cheriſh the reſentment of the United States againſt us.

She

She ſpares neither art, influence, or money, to effect her purpoſes. She has conſuls, and vice-conſuls, agents, both public and private, diſtributed and penſioned in every part of America. Her appointments are liberal and magnificent. It is not, however, difficult for us to counter-act her deſigns. We can do it with little trouble, and as little expence. A miniſter of good ſenſe, and commercial knowledge, more eminent for a plainneſs of manners, neceſſary to live in habits with a plain people, than for the greatneſs of his birth, or the ſplendor of his titles—Three conſuls for the New England, the middle, and the Southern States (the conſul for the middle States to be at the ſame time conſul general) poſſeſſing the ſame qualities, living in familiarity with the people, and judiciouſly chuſing the vice-conſuls in the different ports (which would be little or no charge to govrnment) would

would produce the effect in a very ſhort time, of making this country once more the centre of American commerce. It is too early to think of treaties of alliance; America is yet too young. As little occaſion is there for treaties of commerce; a plain act of parliament, avoiding all manner of reference to former acts, comprehenſive of the duties and regulations of the whole trade, would have as good an effect as any treaty whatever. It would make our laws of trade, reſpecting America, familiar and eaſy to her merchants, encouraging them to form connections with us, which the ſimilarity of our language and manners would mature into a perfect union.

Our intereſt demands that this union ſhould take place with frankneſs, and with the warmeſt return of antient affection. We have no better means of judging of the future,

future, than by a recollection of former benefits. Our habits are made to each other. We are deſcended from one common ſtock, and though unhappy diſputes have ſeparated us for a ſeaſon, the day of reconciliation is arrived, which we hope will unite us again for ever.

Nothing remains but to explain the particular motives which induced the Author to intrude theſe obſervations upon the world. They aroſe from a well-grounded apprehenſion of the danger, which an intemperate reſentment of the paſt quarrel, and an ill-timed contempt for a future connection with America, would probably bring upon this nation. America may be froward, but ſhe is young and full of warmth; a quality which requires only gentle uſage, to improve into the moſt

ſatisfactory temper. It becomes our wiſdom, as an antient and well conſtituted Government, to act with prudence and forbearance, and we ſhall then reap the ample fruits which ſuch a conduct will produce.

Such were the motives that actuated him in the production of this work. It is offered with the humility which becomes an Engliſhman at this period, when the diſtreſſes of the Empire call for the wiſdom of the wiſeſt, to remove them from us. If there is any thing in them contrary to the good of either country, it is moſt ſincerely ſubmitted to the judgment of more able and intelligent men. In matters of this ſerious nature, it would be preſumption to ſuppoſe, that imagination has not crept in with reaſon, or error with truth. Fallibility is the inſeparable companion of human nature. The Author has taken pains carefully

fully to collect the moſt known and approved facts, which relate to the ſubject. Theſe will ſpeak for themſelves, when the opinions which he has formed upon them are forgotten, and in the duſt.

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